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Economic Cooperation Committee Session Opens in Kiev

Seeks To Attract Western Investment

LD0706163493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] How to restore disrupted economic ties among the enterprises of the CIS countries, and how to involve businessmen from Western countries in broad cooperation, thus speeding up the flow of private investments in Ukraine's economy. The International Committee on Economic Reform and Cooperation, whose first session opened today in Kiev, is called to solve these issues. It was set up by decision of the 10 independent states of the CIS and is being held in Ukraine's capital by invitation of Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. The committee was set up on a nongovernmental basis. It consists of government members, entrepreneurs, scientists from not only the countries of the former Soviet Union, but also from eastern and central Europe and some other countries of the West.

Kuchma, Other Officials Comment

WS0806092893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Representatives of 33 states have gathered in the Ukrainian capital in order to form the International Committee on Economic Reform and Cooperation. This organization will primarily assist with private foreign investments in the former USSR. Georgiy Khizha, former Russian deputy prime minister, who was elected committee chairman at the initiative of the Ukrainian side, said to a UNIAN correspondent that foreign investors are avoiding the newly independent states due to a lack of trust. The committee will bring together reliable people whose prestige will safeguard investment projects.

In his opening speech, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma emphasized the importance of a coordinated economic policy, and underlined the danger of implementing reforms in "one separate state." Referring to Russia, the prime minister pointed out that "the boomerang of world prices for energy resouces will hit those who have thrown it." Former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR John Matlock spoke about the urgent need for a system for exchanging different states' experience.

Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk confirmed the necessity to create a strong hierarchy of administrative subordination for the reform period. Pynzenyk acknowledged a number of mistakes on the part of the Kuchma government, including the practice of reciprocal indebtedness input among enterprises, the absence of a bankruptcy mechanism, and the restriction of power prices.

The international committee will complete its work on 8 June, after having adopted the committee's charter, its headquarters, and a statement of purpose. Leaders of the Group of Seven will be informed on the results of the Kiev conference at their July session in Tokyo.

'Power, Law, and the Press' Conference Opens in Moscow

LD0806083893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0720 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—A "Power, Law, and the Press" conference, which opened in the central House of Journalists here on Tuesday [8 June], has drawn representatives from the press services of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of power, the press attaches of embassies and missions of CIS countries, and Moscow journalists.

The two-day conference has been organised within the framework of the free press vacations by the International Confederation of Journalists' Unions, the Union of Journalists of Russia, the Foundation for the Protection of Openness, the Goethe Institute, and the editorial board of MASS MEDIA magazine.

Topical matters concerning journalistic ethics, the exercise of the right to obtain information at state institutions and have access to archival materials, and journalists' experience of work at flashpoints are the main subjects of discussion at the conference.

Five round-table meetings have been arranged within the framework of the conference, to be addressed by Russian legislation and legal practice specialists and by experts from the United States, Germany, and Spain.

'Unprecedented Scale' of NATO Baltic Maneuvers Noted

PM0806150593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Report from own information/ITAR-TASS column under "Military News from Abroad" rubric: "Baltops-93 Maneuvers Begin in Baltic"]

[Text] Naval maneuvers on an unprecedented scale and with an unprecedented composition will take place in the Baltic on 8-18 June.

The U.S. Defense Department has reported that ships, aircraft, and helicopters from the United States, Russia, Britain, the FRG, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Poland, and Lithuania will participate in the Baltops-93 maneuvers, as well as observers from Latvia and Estonia. The navies of the United States, the FRG, and Denmark have now been holding the annual Baltops maneuvers for more than 20 years. From time to time, combat units of other NATO countries have also been mobilized in them. In the light of the changing situation in Central and East Europe, however, according to a Pentagon statement, this summer it has been decided to substantially expand the composition of the participants in the maneuvers.

Factors Affecting Black Sea Fleet's Future Viewed

PM0806145593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Maksim Yusin article: "Black Sea Fleet on Eve of Crucial Diplomatic Maneuvers"]

[Text] Kiev-Sevastopol-Moscow—The future of the Black Sea Fleet was the main issue at the talks that [Russian Foreign Minister] Andrey Kozyrev held in Kiev and Sevastopol all day on 4 June. He met with his Ukrainian counterpart Anatoliy Zlenko, President Leonid Kravchuk, representatives of the local authorities, and the fleet command.

It is hard to judge how far it proved possible to close the gap between Russia's and Ukraine's positions. Neither Kozyrev nor Zlenko said anything specific at the final press conference. The Russian minister confined himself to making a brief comment which boiled down to saying that the sides "made definite progress" and the consultations will continue. Anatoliy Zlenko did not hide the fact that major disagreements still exist between Moscow and Kiev. Evidently, these differences are so great that at the end of the Russian minister's visit, Kozyrev and Zlenko did not publish a joint statement. "It did not even prove possible to scrape together a communique," one participant in the talks remarked disappointedly.

The Russian and Ukrainian diplomats agreed not to make public the outlines of a possible compromise until Presidents Yeltsin and Kravchuk have decided the future of the Black Sea Fleet at summit level. They are to meet soon—most likely by the end of the month on Ukrainian territory.

Obviously, an option that was mentioned publicly for the first time last week by Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma will be the main matter discussed: Ukraine will give Russia part of the Sevastopol military base on a long-term lease. Yeltsin and Kravchuk are to decide on what terms and for how long. Ukrainian diplomats spoke approvingly in private of this idea. On the one hand, by concluding a lease agreement with Kiev, Moscow is thus once again confirming the unshakability of Ukrainian sovereignty over Sevastopol and the Crimea. What is more, Russia will almost certainly pay for the Sevastopol base with energy resources. And that will make it possible to ease the fuel crisis in the republic.

Another tricky issue is what to do with the Black Sea Fleet ships. Kiev is proposing that they be divided up equally. Russian citizens have not so far voiced their opinion on this score, at any rate officially. The Ukrainians are rushing to adopt a political decision that would make it possible to defuse the situation in the fleet, which is developing in an increasingly dangerous way for Kiev.

Over 200 auxiliary ships have already hoisted the St. Andrew's Flag. Admittedly, the crews of the ships that form the basis of the fleet's combat might still fly the flags of the Navy of the nonexistent USSR, that is pro forma they come under the joint command of Moscow and Kiev. However, the officers are not hiding the fact that, if the fleet is to be divided up, most of them prefer to serve under Russian jurisdiction.

Public opinion in Sevastopol is also pro-Russian. "The Motherland, Russia or Death," several hundred demonstrators carrying the Russian tricolor chanted when they met Kozyrev and Zlenko. "Sevastopol, the Crimea, Russia," "Glory to the St. Andrew's Flag," "Give Us Back Our Homeland," and "A Homeland Is Not for Lease" were the inscriptions on the banners.

Crimean officials with whom I spoke in Sevastopol gave the lease proposal an unenthusiastic reception. Their argument being as follows: How can you lease something that belongs to Russia by right? Even some staff in the apparatus of Kravchuk's representative in the Crimea (who should officially have been more loyal to Kiev) spoke with approval in private of the idea of the peninsula's secession from Ukraine.

Many Sevastopol residents are convinced that the city's future should be linked primarily with Russia. The economic problems that Ukraine is experiencing only intensify this conviction. At the same time the people of Sevastopol (78 percent of whom are Russians and almost 100 percent Russian speakers) have formed a very favorable and sometimes even idealized view of the situation in the Russian economy. "If Yeltsin gives into Kravchuk again and does not take advantage of the situation, he will be making a big mistake," one Sevastopol journalist said.

Time seems to be working in Moscow's favor. Both sides realize that, the more ships hoist the St. Andrew's Flag, the more trump cards the Russian delegation will have at the talks.

Nevertheless, both Yeltsin and Kozyrev are bound to see the limits that they must not overstep, however favorable the situation may seem. Having recognized Ukraine's integrity and renounced territorial claims on it, Russia cannot cast doubt on Kiev's sovereignty over the Crimea and Sevastopol. But Russian diplomacy has far greater freedom to maneuver where the fleet is concerned.

Belarus Foreign Minister Sees 'No Alternative' to CIS

LD0806110093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1013 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Lyushkevich]

[Text] Minsk June 8 TASS—"There is no alternative to the Commonwealth of Independent States if we want to develop a civilised market economy," Belarus Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka stated today during the presentation to him of the ratification instruments of the CIS charter, approved by the Russian parliament. The

instruments were deposited by Igor Saprykin, the Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Belarus Republic.

According to the Belarus minister, the republic is primarily endeavouring to strengthen its economic ties with CIS nations. However, this does not mean a comeback of the old methods of management, when everything was planned and distributed without any equitable participation in the process of all the sides concerned. "We regard further cooperation among independent states as a qualitatively new approach to the development of the economy in general, as a gradually shaping up East European economic community," Kravchanka stated.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 9 Jun

LD0906054793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0534 GMT 9 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Several articles in today's central press deal with the proceedings of the constitutional conference.

Writes ROSSISKIYE VESTI: "The very first days of the work of the constitutional conference have confirmed that most debatable will be issues concerning the powers of the federal authorities (particularly the president and the parliament), relationships between the central authority and the subjects of the Federation as well as between the subjects of the Russian Federation themselves—republics, on the one hand, and territories and regions on the other."

"In the opinion of Sergey Stankevich, presidential adviser and participant in the conference, the fact that representatives of state power bodies supported the idea of equalising the status of various subjects of the Russian Federation can be considered the first serious political result of the conference," the newspaper points out.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) is of the opinion that "the very first day of the work of the constitutional conference in panels showed that a draft fundamental law, worked out by the constitution commission, by no means disappeared from the field of vision of the conferees along with the parliament speaker's walk-out. In practically all panels, an article-by-article discussion was of comparative nature, i.e. the merits of one article were compared with that of an analogous one from an alternative draft".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an article, headlined "We Need a 21st- Century Army", by Yevgeniy Korotchenko, deputy head of the operational art department of the Academy of the General Staff. On the strength of an analysis of the Gulf war, Korotchenko examines various aspects of Russia's security problems and the development of its Armed Forces.

According to Korotchenko, the young Russian Army is faced with the need for an accelerated development and mastering in practice of new warfighting techniques that would more fully accord with the requirements of present-day military and political situation in the world and the corresponding radical changes in the war-sustaining material resources. "Creating a qualitatively new army, we must have clear-cut and specific guidelines," Korotchenko maintains.

ROSSISKIYE VESTI carries an article by Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, who reflects on the problems of inflation being experienced by the country's economy. "The people in Russia are facing a difficult task. To take the country out of the deepest economic crisis is a task that will take not just one year," the minister writes.

"But we have got a concept. We have determined a mechanism and methods of reform and, most importantly, we have come to realise the need to embark on this road. By concentrating efforts, I think, we shall be able to break the back of the main enemy—inflation," Fedorov emphasises.

The newspaper TRUD runs an interview with Valeriy Kolosov, Russia's first deputy minister of labour, who dwells on the problems of social protection of the people in Russia. "The government knows the true state of affairs. This is why it has determined that the major task at the present stage of reforms is to enhance their social orientation, specifically to maintain incomes and employment at acceptable levels, increase state support for the socially most vulnerable groups and avert mass unemployment..." the deputy minister said.

'Starry-Eyed' Secretary Bentsen 'Impregnable' on Credit

PM0906091193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Report by Yuriy Glukhov: "The Emotional 'Covetous Knight'"]

[Text] U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen just paid a visit to Moscow.

At a press conference for foreign and Russian journalists he expressed his admiration at what he had seen: at the successes achieved in the sphere of democracy, the pace of privatization, the likes of which he cannot remember in the history of any other country, the optimism of Russia's top financial and political leaders, and the enthusiasm of the people, hungry for voucherization.

If we consider the emotional aspect of the visit, what we saw was a starry-eyed traveler. But in all matters relating to the business side and to credit bounty, Mr. Bentsen turned out to be as impregnable as an armored safe.

The Americans are in no hurry to shell out. The Washington administration is giving Russia aid in dribs and drabs. In particular, the other day a U.S. Senate subcommittee accepted B. Clinton's proposal on the removal of $979 million from the Pentagon budget for the current fiscal year and another $639 and $200 million from the foreign aid budget for this year and 1994. But the money cannot be used until 1 October—the start of the new fiscal year.

The main condition for obtaining it is stabilization in Russia. Financial, economic, and political stabilization. And this condition remains exceptionally tough. Even before the transatlantic visitor appeared in Moscow, we knew that he was bringing a "message to Russian President B. Yeltsin, which would make the Russian leadership think: Either we start to change the situation in the economy, or we will will not get the full amount of Western aid promised for this year." This was confirmed in a more diplomatic form by Bentsen at the press conference.

Incidentally, the very day before he arrived the Russian government "took steps" to help the economy. It had a "think" and decided it would neither control the prices of energy sources, nor raise the ruble currency rate, which is in free fall. This marked a decisive new stage in the struggle against hyperinflation.

But with the depreciation of the ruble, fantastic opportunities emerge for Western investors. What we are talking about is a cut-rate sale. When I asked him to comment on this kind of economic policy, L. Bentsen declined to give a direct answer. But look at the calculations made by the paper THE NEW YORK TIMES.

"The United States," it writes, "has already offered to buy the nuclear materials derived from the warheads of former archenemy Russia. So why not offer to buy up half of its industrial base as well?" At the present moment, the paper estimates, the nominal market value of the part of the Russian industrial base that is due for privatization is approximately $700 million. That is, for this sum you could buy up all the vouchers, given their current price and the current ruble rate.

What is such a sum to the Americans? It is barely more than they spend each year on jogging gear or on food distributed under the school lunches program. It is the amount the Pentagon spends in a day. And it is approximately as much as U.S. President B. Clinton offered Russia in the form of credits for the purchase of grain.

The calculations in THE NEW YORK TIMES are devastating. Even more devastating is the fact that the "alluring, cheap, and oddly unexplored path of buying up the industry of a profoundly humiliated former superpower" (I am citing the paper here) is a realistic option.

The Russian government is showing great interest in the idea of the creation of an international fund to support privatization, which could have $4 billion at its disposal, the French economic paper LA TRIBUNE reports. The aid could take the form of credits for privatized enterprises or direct participation in their capital and technical assistance. In recent days the debate has been not about the problems of financing this fund, but about the specific mechanism for operating it.

So Mr Bentsen's emotions could well turn out to be a manifestation of the feelings of a "covetous knight" sensing a deal.

Commentary on U.S. Defense Secretary's Visit to Ukraine

LD0806211793 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Commentary by Ludmila Velichenko; from the "News & Views" program]

[Text] United States Defense Secretary Les Aspin has completed his two day visit to Ukraine—and now a commentary by Ludmila Velichenko:

U.S. Defense Secretary Aspin sees his visit to Ukraine as fruitful and encouraging. He appreciates his meetings with Ukrainian President Kravchuk, the Ukrainian lawmakers, his Ukrainian counterpart Konstantin Morozov, and officials of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. Secretary Aspin has told newsmen he was aiming to launch a closer relationship with the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and he feels he achieved this objective. A joint working group will consider the implementation of the latest bilateral agreements.

In Kiev, Secretary Aspin also focused on nuclear disarmament and security. He outlined the U.S. proposal for joint control of the nuclear warheads, which are to be removed from Ukraine, in case Ukraine ratifies the first

treaty on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons. He stressed the proposal was yet to be discussed in detail with Russia.

Russia was keeping a close eye on Secretary Aspin's visit to Ukraine. As well as many other nations, Russia is concerned about the Ukrainian reluctance to fulfill its own pledges. Ukraine is in no hurry to get of the 176 long-range nuclear missiles and winged rockets with nuclear warheads still stationed on it's territory.

Addressing a closed session of the National Parliament, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma recently said Ukraine ought to declare itself a nuclear power and keep its finger on the formerly Soviet nuclear button. Even though other Ukrainian leaders hurried up to say Kuchma was speaking in his capacity as a member of parliament and not as prime minister, what Kuchma said reflected the view of one third of the country's lawmakers, and one third of the overall parliamentary vote can block the ratification of START I and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Secretary Aspin is still hopeful Russia and Ukraine can negotiate a solution to the nuclear problem. Soon Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev will visit Washington and a little bit later his Ukrainian counterpart Konstantin Morozov will do the same.

Russia, U.S., Japan To Develop Sakhalin Gas Deposits

LD0806205793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1940 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin held a meeting with members of an international consortium formed to develop a natural gas deposit on the shelf of the Island of Sakhalin, off the coast of the Russian Far East (the so-called "Sakhalin-2" project).

"Sakhalin-2" is one of the largest investment projects involving Russian, American and Japanese capital. It centers not only on gas extraction, but also on gas pipe line construction, attraction of highly skilled manpower and resolving several complicated technical and technological tasks.

When the project is implemented, the parties expect to get a return amounting to 25 billion dollars.

They are going to invest 20 billion dollars into the creation of the indispensable regional infrastructures.

The participants in the meeting discussed in great detail several of the problems which remained unsolved.

Chernomyrdin expressed hope that as a result of the implementation of the "Sakhalin-2" project a powerful production base would be created, which would make it possible to bring smaller shelf gas deposits into use.

Scientist, Aide on Fate of Weapons Plutonium

PM0806160093 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 6 Jun 93 p 7

[Sune Olofson report: "Russians Want To Sell Plutonium From Scrapped Missiles"]

[Text] Lulea—"Our plutonium from the nuclear arms which are to be dismantled is a national resource for Russia and worth several times more than gold. It is for sale. For the time being, in collaboration with the United States, we will keep it in 40,000 containers," nuclear physicist Lev Feoktistov, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, said. He has worked for 27 years in Russia on the development of nuclear arms.

Together with American and Russian researchers, he is visiting Lulea where he is lecturing at a conference which finishes today and has been arranged by Swedish doctors opposed to nuclear arms. The aim of the conference is to exert pressure on the superpowers for an extension of the nuclear test ban treaty.

"Plutonium and uranium are not particularly dangerous when they are handled correctly," said Lev Feoktistov, who actually shrugged his shoulder when asked about Russia's moral responsibility in the face of the risk of proliferation.

In the summer of 1991, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the first START agreement which meant that U.S. strategic nuclear warheads were to be cut from 12,600 to around 8,500 and the Soviet Union's from 11,100 to just over 6,000. On 3 January 1992, START II was signed and a further step was taken. By the year 2003 U.S. warheads will have been cut to 3,500 and Russian warheads to 3,000. In addition intercontinental ballistic missiles which each carry several warheads will be abolished.

The weapons systems which could destroy all life on earth will—when Ukraine hopefully ratifies START I and signs the nonproliferation agreement—be dismantled.

But so far not a single nuclear warhead has been destroyed. Only missiles have been rendered harmless through the removal of their warheads. At least two questions remain: What will the United States and Russia do with the plutonium which is left after dismantling? Is it at all possible to destroy plutonium?

Doctor Georgiy A. Kaurov, spokesman for the Russian Atomic Energy Ministry, said that Russian nuclear technicians have designed and constructed a special container for the storage of uranium and plutonium.

"There is no suggestion of destroying the plutonium left when the warheads are dismantled. Instead we have reached an agreement on temporary storage in 40,000 Russian-designed containers which will be manufactured in the United States over the next four years. The

first 200 containers will be delivered from the United States at the end of the year," Georgiy Kaurov said.

According to Kaurov, it has been decided that the containers will be stored in bunkers in two locations that have yet to be chosen. There has been speculation that the bunkers will be located in salt mines and underground chambers, but according to Kaurov the question has not been successfully resolved. For the time being the containers will be stored at well guarded military bases.

"Storage is an extremely serious question for us. I see no reason for the citizens of the world to have fears about our handling of plutonium and uranium," Kaurov said. What else would he say?

Hans Blix, who is head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna, has declared that the IAEA is prepared to monitor storage, but then a great deal more money would be needed from member nations.

According to experts, if all the world's nuclear arms were to be dismantled today, around 260 tonnes of plutonium would remain and would have to be dealt with. A medium-sized nuclear bomb needs 3 to 5 kilos of plutonium. Therefore 260 tonnes produces around 52,000 bombs.

"Impoverished Russia cannot afford to throw away its plutonium. We are counting on the possibility of selling it on the world market at a price considerably higher than that of gold. But we are not going to sell pure plutonium, but a mix of uranium and plutonium which can be used as nuclear fuel," said Lev Feoktistov, who also admitted that the plutonium 239 in the mix could be extracted and used for nuclear arms.

Also taking part in the Lulea conference is nuclear physicist Joseph Rotblat who is 84 today and who developed the first U.S. atomic bomb under Robert Oppenheimer between 1939 and 1944. Today the Polish-born Rotblat leads the international Pugwash peace movement whose foremost aim is to warn of the effects of a nuclear war.

"I am quite optimistic about the possibility of today storing and in the future destroying plutonium in a safe way. We should not forget that it is chiefly produced by man and that, therefore, there is a reasonable technical possibility of destroying it. At the laboratories at Los Alamos in the United States there is an outline of the principle of a procedure for destroying plutonium. But it has never been used and is only a theory," Joseph Rotblat said.

The theory in brief is that with the help of so-called accelerators plutonium is bombarded with particles which break it down and destroy it. The process requires a lot of energy and is expensive and that is why the world's experts are discussing the possible permanent storage of weapons plutonium, mixed with spent nuclear fuel, for example, at a depth of 500 to 1000 meters underground.

Official Explains Russian View of Bosnia-Herzegovina Plan

LD0806145993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1416 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—Sergei Yastrzhembskiy, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's information and press department, described the U.N. Security Council resolution 836 as a concrete step to implement the programme of joint actions, adopted in Washington on May 22 and intended to carry out the Vance-Owen plan stage by stage. The resolution envisages the complete observance of the regime of safety areas, set up in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Addressing a briefing here, he stressed that any military actions within the safety zones would henceforth be cut short by U.N. troops, including with the use of armed force, which will be an important factor contributing to the stabilisation of the situation and alleviating the sufferings of the civilian population. According to Yastrzhembskiy, the question of urgently implementing the provisions of the resolution is of priority importance.

Yastrzhembskiy expressed the hope that all the conflicting sides, including the Muslims, would display readiness to cooperate on the basis of the adopted document, which is called upon to serve as an important step towards the consistent implementation of the peace plan. "Only a ceasefire and an end to violence, and this is precisely the goal of this resolution, may promote real progress towards the peaceful settlement of the Bosnian crisis," the diplomat said.

Commenting on Lord Owen's recent statement in Paris that the stand of the Russian side had changed and that Moscow was not prepared to send its troops to guard the safety areas, Yastrzhembskiy said that the Washington programme of joint actions "does not say a word about the Russian Federation's commitment to send its troops to defend the safety areas." Moscow believes there may be "other parameters of the Russian Federation's participation in U.N. operations in Bosnia." "Russian servicemen," Yastrzhembskiy noted, "may be needed, for instance, for posting inspectors on the Bosnian border."

Differences Over Bosnia Safe Havens Policy Noted

PM0806155793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Sergey Sidorov report: "New Mandate for 'Blue Helmets' in Bosnia"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 7 Jun—Politicians and the press of the countries involved in the Yugoslav crisis are continuing to comment on the UN Security Council resolution allowing the UN forces to use weapons for the purpose of defending the safe havens for the Muslim population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their creation is provided for in the Washington package elaborated with the active participation of Russian diplomacy. [passage omitted]

Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, has called the latest UN Security Council resolution a lifeline for the Muslim leadership, which had been facing total defeat. At the same time, he declared in a statement for the SRNA agency that the resolution "does not threaten the Serbs either, as so far they have not had clashes with the UN forces in Bosnia. The attitude among the Serb community toward the 'blue helmets,' the High Commissioner for Refugees, and the Red Cross is very positive."

As for the authorities in blockaded Sarajevo, they have been highly critical of the decision to create safe havens. In conversation with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent Ejub Ganic, deputy chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, rated this UN step a departure from the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia. According to E. Ganic, the safe havens will fix "the results of Serbian aggression" and will virtually recognize the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a Serbian enclave, a Croatian enclave, and Muslim enclaves. We believe, he said, that the world community must set about implementing the Vance-Owen plan and not take the path of making changes to it, of which there have already been too many.

According to spokesmen for the UN forces' Bosnian command, it could take as many as 20,000 servicemen to secure the safe havens. They do not rule out the participation in the operation of military contingents from certain Muslim countries—on which Pakistan and Turkey have long insisted. The same UN circles, however, emphasize the possible negative consequences of such participation. In the opinion of UN experts, Turkey, like Germany, must refrain from sending its soldiers to Bosnia for historical reasons.

The Ukrainian battalion stationed at the center of Sarajevo was one of the first to begin fulfilling tasks connected with the safe havens. After completing a very difficult journey over mountain roads, its reinforced company arrived in the Zepa region in eastern Bosnia in mid-May. The battalion's remaining subdivisions, according to its commander, Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Kiva, are preparing to assume responsibility for part of Sarajevo's territory.

To date, the Ukrainian battalion has suffered the largest relative losses of personnel among all the national contingents of "blue helmets" in the former Yugoslavia—four killed and 22 wounded. In all, the "blue helmets" have lost 42 men killed and 458 wounded since the start of the UN mission in the former Yugoslavia.

Yeltsin Appoints Officials, Ambassador to Slovakia

PM0806132193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] By directive of the Russian Federation president, Vladimir Fortov has been appointed chairman of the Russian Fund for Fundamental Research. The former acting director-organizer of the Russian Fund for Fundamental Research, Andrey Gonchar, has been relieved of his duties.

By edict of the Russian president, Army General Konstantin Kobets has been appointed Russian Federation chief military inspector and Russian Federation deputy defense minister.

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy has been appointed Russian Federation ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Slovak Republic.

Yuriy Baturin has been appointed assistant to the Russian Federation president.

Black Sea Fleet Commander Departs for Meeting With Kravchuk

LD0806183793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1637 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASs correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—Black Sea Fleet Commander Vice-Admiral Eduard Baltin left for Kiev today to meet Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, at the latter's invitation, head of the Black Sea Fleet Press Center Captain Andrey Lazebnikov told ITAR- TASS today.

Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Navy Admiral Felix Gromov and head of the Crimean Parliament Nikolay Bagrov have also left for Kiev to meet Kravchuk.

The press center has no information on items on the meeting agenda. Some believe the sides will discuss the whole range of the Black Sea fleet issues within the framework of preparations for the Russian-Ukrainian summit.

According to reports reaching here from Sevastopol, the situation in the Black Sea fleet and the city is generally calm. Another ship of the hydrographic service raised the St. Andrew's flag today. The Sevastopol division of the National Salvation Front continues to raise money and foodstuffs for 205 crews of the Black Sea fleet ships and vessels, which have raised the Russian Navy flag.

Navy Commander in Chief Flies to Kiev

LD0806131993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to Postfactum agency, Admiral Feliks Gromov flew to Kiev today in his capacity as a military expert on issues involving the Black Sea fleet. He accompanied roving ambassador, Yuriy Dubinin. The visit is expected to be concluded today. Observers link it with preparations for the meeting between the presidents of Russia and the Ukraine on problems of the Black Sea fleet.

Russia Supports 'Positive' Solutions to Ukraine Nuclear Issue

LD0806134193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1302 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—"Many ideas are appearing today, intended to break the deadlock over the fulfilment of the Lisbon agreements, primarily by Kiev. All these proposals reflect the anxiety of the international community," head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today. He was replying to the question of how the Russian Foreign Ministry assessed the idea of storing dismantled nuclear warheads on the territory of Ukraine under U.N. control until they are destroyed, suggested during the meeting of Ukrainian and U.S. defence ministers in Kiev on Monday.

"We are ready to back any proposal, intended to break the deadlock over this problem, affecting the national interests of Ukraine, which we, of course, take into consideration," Yastrzhembskiy stated. "Any positive solutions will be supported, if they help fulfil the Lisbon agreements," he added.

"The key requirements of these agreements," Yastrzhembsky recalled, "are to ratify the START-1 Treaty and Ukraine's accession to the Nuclear Weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty as a nuclear-free state."

Terms for START Ratification Debate Set

PM0906103193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Article by Boris Tarasov, member of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, under "START II Treaty" rubric: "Missile Conundrum for Parliament"]

[Text] As is known, the Treaty on the Further Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms (START II) was hastily introduced. Bewilderment is also caused by the fact that the Treaty on the Further Reduction (START II) was concluded even before the START I Treaty had come into force. And yet START I is not without its faults. It has serious flaws which are certainly not in Russia's favor. Why did the Russian Supreme Soviet approve it? To all appearances, the reckoning was that, despite its serious shortcomings, START I would enable Russia to have the strategic potential necessary to deter nuclear war. In addition, it provided an opportunity to take a step toward the next, qualitatively new stage of disarmament, which would make it possible to eliminate the shortcomings of START I and to prepare a more balanced agreement.

But START II merely exacerbated the shortcomings of START I. The parliamentary hearings in the Russian Supreme Soviet and also the active discussion of the document in both the Russian and the foreign press showed the plain fact that inadequate thought had been given to its economic, social, ecological, and other consequences.

First, it is still not clear how the treaty fits within the framework of the new concept of Russian foreign policy, which, according to the constitution, has to be determined by parliament. It is clear that the document should have been assessed not before but after parliament's approval of such a concept.

Second, the treaty's supporters have failed—so far, at least—to provide any proof that is at all convincing of the need for the virtually complete elimination of the basis of our strategic triad—land-based missiles with multiple reentry vehicles [MRV's]. There has not been a satisfactory explanation of why the accord that was reached does not apply at all to sea- and air-launched cruise missiles, which are capable of destroying the Russian strategic potential of highly accurate weapons and in which the United States has an overwhelming advantage (4,000 to our 200).

Third, government experts have failed to refute claims that the treaty ignores the special geostrategic features of Russia, applying U.S. standards to the present structure of its defense potential. The continental location of Russia, which possesses an insignificant number of ice-free ports, creates additional obstacles to deploying the submarine fleet, which is inferior to the U.S. one in terms of qualitative parameters. The same can also be said of strategic aircraft. Our country has always taken second place to the Americans in these two areas. It seems a virtually hopeless task to catch up with them under conditions of the progressive breakup of the military-industrial complex. At the same time Russia has definite advantages with regard to the land-based missiles created by the tremendous efforts of the entire people over many decades. Meanwhile, under the treaty, by the year 2003 our sea-launched nuclear forces will account for no less than 50 percent of the nuclear potential against 30 percent at present. No convincing arguments have been heard in favor of such a radical change in the configuration of the strategic potential.

Fourth, the treaty not only virtually confirms the superiority achieved by the United States in creating an ABM system but also gives the go-ahead to its further development. This means that just a few years after the elimination of our land-based missiles with MRV's capable of "breaching" ABM defenses the United States could well be able to destroy practically all our missiles, while itself remaining totally unassailable. It is obvious that we cannot dispense with a careful and graphic study of this question. In the past, as is known, Mikhail Gorbachev's cheerful declarations that we would find a "worthy reply" to the U.S. SDI, which was nicknamed the "'star wars' program," proved to be an empty bluff.

Fifth, it has come to light that the Russian participants in the talks, unlike the Americans, failed to reckon up in detail the economic aspects of the disarmament process or to analyze their comparable effectiveness. According to the assessments of U.S. experts, the treaty greatly enhances the significance of the ABM program. But as regards Russia, to judge from the hearings in the Supreme Soviet, we have to say the opposite. It is known, for example, that it costs more to build and operate missile-carrying submarines compared with a comparable number of land-based missiles armed with MRV's. In addition, extremely costly global communications systems and systems to protect against antisubmarine weapons are needed to ensure the operations of missile-carrying submarines. According to the "cost-effectiveness" criterion, missiles armed with MRV's are more advantageous than the single-warhead SS-25 missiles permitted by the treaty.

Sixth, practically no account has been taken of the possible social and ecological costs of the treaty. The cost of eliminating nuclear systems has been determined "roughly." In the parliamentary hearings it was shown with specific examples that funding the implementation of START II could become a bottomless barrel for Russia, and no matter how many state resources you pour into it, it will still not be enough. For example, we have to destroy 9,000 tonnes of toxic rocket fuel components—which, in chlorine equivalent, would amount to more than 1 million tonnes. It is an extremely complex and costly matter to "take apart" 47 missile-carrying submarines and to salvage the spent nuclear fuel from 94 reactors. In the event of a lack of funds for social protection and to ensure radiation, chemical, and anti-terrorist safety, Russia could find itself with several hotbeds of sociopolitical tension and a number of Chernobyl-scale disasters. Under conditions of the ongoing economic collapse all these problems are acquiring special acuteness.

The START II Treaty contains a whole number of other obscure points, and even obvious errors, which parliament does not have the right to ignore.

In my view, the optimum way out of the present situation can be seen in an independent and qualified parliamentary expert analysis of the treaty with the submission of the appropriate recommendations. Both people's deputies and broad public circles should be informed of them. Such an expert analysis could result in recommendations on the need either to refuse to ratify the treaty or to make amendments to it which take Russia's vital interests into account. In the latter case it would be expedient to carry out this work with the U.S. Congress.

Mindful of the exceptional importance of START II to national security, the actual procedure for ratifying it should definitely be discussed at a Supreme Soviet session. I believe that it would be correct to set up a special parliamentary commission with wide powers and an independent budget to involve the necessary research centers and specialists, including foreign ones. The commission's chief task would be to prepare thoroughly substantiated, objective recommendations on the treaty's ratification and to familiarize the country's public with all its aspects. It is only when all the aforementioned circumstances have been taken into account that it would be possible finally to decide the question of ratifying START II in October-November 1993.

Kozyrev Meets With Azerbaijani Counterpart

LD0806145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1352 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Rybkin]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jun—A wide range of issues on relations between Russia and Azerbaijan as well as the settlement of the crisis in Nagorno-Karabakh were discussed at a meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Azerbaijani colleague Tofik Gasymov, which took place here today.

Asnwering a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent at the end of the meeting, Kozyrev noted that the sides also discussed the question of the six Russians who took part as mercenaries in the hostilities on the Armenian side and who were captured in Azerbaijan. The Russian minister expressed the hope that a solution will be found which would satisfy both sides.

As for mercenaries, Kozyrev said that regrettably they exist not only in the Transcaucasus but also in a number of other places. "We think it is a vicious practice and it should be stopped." The Russian Government has submitted a relevant proposal to the Supreme Soviet."

In his turn, Gasymov noted that no one in Azerbaijan wanted to have these lads executed. "I pin my hopes on the wisdom and humaneness of our president and I hope they will be spared." Azerbaijan, Gasymov emphasised, regards the development of its relations with Russia as very important. According to him, both states are closely intertwined in the economic sphere. Nor are there any psychological barriers to close cooperation. "We are grateful to the Russian side for the amount of time it gives to the solution of the Karabakh conflict."

Replying to journalists' questions concerning the incident in Gyandzha, Gasymov said that the trouble was that armed people had seized Gyandzha, a large town with a population of 350,000. "The country's leadership has no intention of undertaking any operations against them involving force. Talks are currently under way and I think that it will be possible to settle the conflict through negotiations in the nearest future."

Discusses Current Issues

LD0806170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1648 GMT 8 Jun 93

[by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—A meeting of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Azeri counterpart Tofik Gasymov discussed here today many aspects of Russian-Azeri relations and settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Kozyrev told ITAR-TASS upon the meeting completion, they also discussed the fate of six Russians, hired by the Armenians to participate in combat operations on their side and later captured in Azerbaijan. The minister expressed hope the sides will elaborate a mutually acceptable solution.

As for mercenaries, they exist both in Transcaucasia and in a number of other regions. "We think it is a vicious practice that must be stopped. The Russian government has submitted corresponding proposals to the Supreme Soviet," noted Kozyrev.

None in Azerbaijan wants to execute these guys, said Gasymov. "I hope for wisdom and humanity of our president. I hope they will be pardoned," he added.

Azerbaijan attaches great importance to the development of its relations with Russia, stressed Gasymov. In his words, the two states have close economic relationship. There are no psychological barriers for close cooperation. "We are grateful to the Russian side for devoting much time to the solution of the Karabakh problem," he said.

Asked about the Gyandzha incident, Gasymov said armed people seized a town with 350,000 residents. "The Azeri leadership does not plan any force actions as regards them. Negotiations are underway. I think the conflict will be settled in the near future through talks," noted the Azeri foreign minister.

Views Gyandzha Situation

NC0906103193 Baku TURAN in English 0912 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 9 (TURAN)—Yesterday the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of Russia and Azerbaijan took place in Moscow.

In his interview to TURAN agency correspondent by the end of the meeting Andrey Kozyrev said, that during the meeting they fixed their attention on situation in Gyandzha. He also added, that the [word indistinct] and victims arouse regret.

In his turn, Tofik Gasymov said, that the authorities of Azerbaijan are not going to use violence against the supporters of Suret Guseynov. He pointed out, that the authorities are to settle the conflict peacefully. T. Gasymov also said, that the events in Gyandzha are hardly to be qualified as a rebel. "The leadership of the country controls all the military divisions on its territory and only one of them refused to obey orders," T. Gasymov said.

Touching upon the question about the destiny of the 6 Russian mercenaries, condemned in Azerbaijan, Andrey Kozyrev expressed hope, that the optimum decision toward these people will be made. Together with this Kozyrev noted, that "the custom of using Russian servicemen as mercenaries have to be positively denounced."

T. Gasymov said, that he considers this opinion of the Russian minister to be very constructive. Touching upon the destiny of the Russian mercenaries, he noted, that Ithey could obtain mercy only by the president, but it can't happen at once."

Kozyrev, Delegation Leave for Tbilisi, Yerevan

LD0906081293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0702 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev left for Georgia by air on Wednesday morning for a working visit. The purpose of his trip is to study the development of the situation following the May 14 working consultative meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze and to discuss Abkhazian settlement issues with the Georgian leadership.

Immediately upon arriving in Tbilisi, Kozyrev is to hold talks with his Georgian counterpart, Aleksandr Chikvaidze. A consular convention between the two countries is expected to be signed. The Russian minister will be received by Eduard Shevardnadze.

Subsequently Kozyrev is to leave Tbilisi for Gudauta for talks with Abkhazian parliament chief Vladislav Ardzinba. The Russian delegation is expected to leave by air for Sukhumi. The trip schedule also provides for a visit to Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, during the delegation's return journey.

On the Russian delegation are also Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov and First Deputy Defence Minister Boris Gromov.

Pastukhov Interviewed on Abkhaz Conflict

PM0806165193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister B.N. Pastukhov by correspondent S. Shipunova under the rubric "Abkhazia: Talks and Bombardments"; place, date not given: "In the Zone of Distrust"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Sochi-Moscow—The war in Abkhazia is in its 10th month. For nine months people have been dying, the peaceful population has been suffering, and the Russian troop subunits in the conflict zone have been subjected to grave ordeals. The Georgian-Abkhazian conflict has seriously destabilized the situation for a long time in regions adjoining Georgia and in the North Caucasus as a whole. Increasingly more often people are asking the reasonable question: What is the Russian leadership's position on this protracted conflict and what specific steps are being taken to promote a peaceful solution?

Our correspondent discusses this with B.N. Pastukhov, Russian Federation deputy foreign minister, who represents Russia in the negotiating process for a settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict.

[Shipunova] Boris Nikolayevich, you are returning from your umpteenth visit to the conflict zone. What is the situation like now?

[Pastukhov] There has been no total lull, but the cease-fire agreement reached at the 14 May meeting in Moscow between B. Yeltsin and E. Shevardnadze and supported by the Abkhazian side is, on the whole, being observed. This truce is extremely fragile and is being violated periodically in one place or another by outbreaks of shooting and local exchanges of fire. Therefore, further steps are needed to consolidate the cease-fire and to guarantee that shooting will not be resumed along the entire front line along the Gumista River and in other regions of combat operations.

[Shipunova] Who should take these steps, and what should they be?

[Pastukhov] They must be gradual, phased actions. Heavy equipment must be withdrawn from the combat zone, the opposing armed formations must be pulled back to a neutral zone, and, quite clearly, international observers and peacekeeping forces must be brought in to maintain and strengthen this fragile peace. The United Nations has offered its assistance in this.

But the most important thing is to implement a whole series of confidence-building measures in order to at least help reduce mutual suspicion, recriminations, and enmity. The war has been going on for nine months now, a lot of blood has been shed, and mutual hatred has gone all too far—such things do not pass off and are not forgotten overnight. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ensure a transitional period from war to peace except on the basis of the sides' mutual trust and goodwill.

Russia is seeking to play the role of impartial middleman in this conflict, and we, its representatives, are doing our utmost to facilitate the establishment of trust between the warring sides.

After the cease-fire agreement was reached it was decided to begin a humanitarian action. Russia proposed sending food, medicines, and basic necessities to the population in the conflict zone under the UN flag. There was a particular need to support the population of Tkvarcheli. The city has been under siege for many months, people are extremely exhausted, and the Russian population, which includes many pensioners, former miners who have not been paid their pension for a long time and who have simply no other means of existence, has been suffering particularly badly. It is terrible to see how worn out and weak the people who are brought out of there are.

It was assumed that humanitarian aid would be delivered to Tkvarcheli and other points by helicopter, and the helicopters would take refugees on their way back. Representatives of the migration service carried out a great deal of preparatory work to identify people who wished to be evacuated. The first five helicopters flew to Tkvarcheli 2 June, but as early as the next day, 3 June, we were forced to suspend the operation.

[Shipunova] Why was this, what happened?

[Pastukhov] We need stronger guarantees of flight safety. The sides suspect each other and think that the Russian humanitarian operation may be used for other purposes and that our helicopters will transport not flour but something else. Naturally, neither side can prove anything of the sort, but this distrust is voiced.

Here is an example. The weather today is hot and the air is very rarefied, so the helicopters deviated slightly from their route and came down a little higher than the planned landing site—there was no malicious intent in this. But immediately there are suspicions and complaints.

In addition, there have been reproaches about the composition of the evacuees. In fact there is an understanding that 50 percent of the evacuees should be Abkhazians, 25 percent Georgians, and 25 percent representatives of other nationalities—Russians, Greeks, Armenians—because those are the proportions in the population of Tkvarcheli.

I am talking about this in such detail because even such points can wreck agreements that have been reached with difficulty. Heated talks about this are now under way in Sukhumi and Gudauta, but if it is impossible to resume the planned humanitarian operation, the responsibility for this will lie with those who are putting spokes in the wheel instead of helping.

[Shipunova] What is the mood of people in the combat zone? What is their view of Russia now?

[Pastukhov] People curse this war and those who began it. They do not care about politicians' ambitions, what they want is peace and for nobody to be in fear for their own life and the life of their children. During our trips we have heard many criticisms of Russia. One side criticizes us for allegedly abandoning them to the mercy of fate, and the other side makes the accusation that Russia is not maintaining neutrality and is taking part in military operations. In fact the Russian Armed Forces on Georgia's territory are not taking part in the conflict and have orders to use weapons only if there is a threat to their lives, when they come under intensive fire, as at the seismic station in Eshery that is being guarded by a subunit of ours. Incidentally, this station has unique, valuable equipment which we must preserve, and this is why Russian servicemen are still there.

The Russian troops experience extreme pressure and are living in conditions where illegal actions are constantly perpetrated against them. We have already lost several dozen men, and some have also been wounded. The main aim of all these hostile actions is to seize military property and ammunition, and the Georgians stop at nothing to achieve this.

Naturally, the presence of Russian troops on Georgia's territory is temporary, and we are now elaborating an agreement and a whole package of documents on military questions that will define the status of our troops' temporary presence, the procedure for their withdrawal, the attitude toward military property, and so forth.

[Shipunova] It is well known that the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet has asked the Russian leadership to admit Abkhazia to the Russian Federation, or at least to take it under its wing.

[Pastukhov] Yes, there was such an appeal, and it was examined in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, which told the Russian leadership to take this appeal into account during talks with the Georgian and Abkhazian sides. But this is a very tricky question. If you view it from the international legal standpoint, it is quite obvious that what I would describe as such a fateful matter must be decided not by a group of individuals, even if they are vested with great powers, but by the entire population of Abkhazia. There has to be a free, democratic expression of the people's will. First Abkhazia must decide whether it is going to be part of Georgia, and then raise the question of how it wants to live in the future. But any poll or referendum is possible only in peacetime.

Everything urges that this senseless war be halted and a political solution to the conflict be found. Today everything depends on the sides at last meeting each other halfway and abandoning mutual recrimination and suspicion, which contain nothing constructive. Given goodwill on the part of the sides and the participation of Russia, and also the United Nations and the CSCE, a solution can be achieved by political means.

No Progress Made in Russian-Estonian Talks

LD0806184693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1750 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishviliy]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—Ambassador at Large Vasiliy Svirin, head of the Russian delegation to the 12th round of the Russo-Estonian talks, which ended here on Tuesday, assessed the results of the talks as "far from optimistic".

Addressing a news conference held at the close of the talks, he accounted for his position by the fact that the sides had failed to make any progress in negotiating the basic issue, that of the border between Russia and Estonia. Thus, according to the ambassador, "draft agreements on the border, on dividing the economic zone and territorial shelf and on crossing the borders hang up in the air". However, the talks practically finalised the debates on a draft agreement providing for social protection of servicemen and members of their families, Svirin reported.

Estonian State Minister Juri Luik, who led Estonia's delegation to the talks, described the negotiations as most fruitful and effective. To explain his viewpoint, Luik said "the Russo-Estonian relations are presently so complicated that when they do not deteriorate, it is already good".

According to the Estonian minister, the main condition for these relations to improve is the pull-out of Russian troops from Estonian territory and the solution of border issues.

Tallinn Orders Eviction of Most Recent Russian Arrivals

PM0806162993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Valeriy Gromak report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "New Cases of Discrimination Against Russians in Estonia"]

[Text] Tallinn—Tallinn City Council has adopted a decree on a registration procedure for Russian servicemen.

The Executive Committee of the Estonian Republic capital's City Council is instructed to draw up lists of all Russian Army servicemen, Armed Forces veterans, and members of their families who have arrived in Estonia since 1 July 1990 and forward them to the migration department. These people must vacate the living space that they occupy and leave the republic's capital before 1 September.

Talks With Estonia 'Proceeding With Difficulty'

LD0806134493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] The Russian-Estonian talks, which are in their second day, are proceeding with difficulty and they are faltering even on issues where significant progress had been achieved earlier. This was said today at a briefing by Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Department of Information and Press of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

For the first time ever, he noted, the package of humanitarian and legal issues, which should be prioritized in Russia's view, is not being discussed. Apart from this, Estonia refuses to sign the agreement on providing vital supplies to neighboring regions, initialed earlier. A number of border issues have also been totally blocked.

Estonian Ship Inaugurates Cargo Route to Great Lakes

PM0806132593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Jun 93

[By G. Sablin and A. Troshin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Sablin] Here is an unusual report about our economy. Having achieved a record increase in the volume of freight handling last year, the Kaliningrad commercial seaport is continuing to augment it. Just recently another cargo route opened between Kaliningrad and the U.S. Great Lakes. The first trip was made by the crew of the MS Viljandi of the Estonian Maritime Shipping Line.

In all, this route will be plied by four roll on-roll off ships which are designed specifically for loading and unloading operations.

To be objective, it should be noted that the import-export balance has changed in favor of the latter. The main cargoes from the West—metal, pipes, steel for the car industry, and sugar—have been significantly reduced. Meanwhile, exports of equipment and timber have increased.

Commander Appeals to Latvian Government on 'Criminal' Acts

LD0806121893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Valentina Bochkova, our correspondent in Riga, has reported that Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, the commander of the Northwestern Group, appealed to Ivars Godmanis, the head of the Latvian Government, to take steps to prevent criminal actions against Russian servicemen and their property on the territory of Latvia. These actions, the Russian general stresses, exacerbate even further the situation around Russian troops' temporary stay in Latvia and their withdrawal from the country.

Khasbulatov Receives Armenian Counterpart, Signs Accord

PM0906104593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by A. Sukhoparov of the parliamentary press service under the "Visit" rubric: "Armenian Parliamentarians in Moscow"]

[Text] An Armenian Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Supreme Soviet Chairman Babken Araktsyan arrived in Moscow 6 June on a short official visit. The guests were received by Russian parliament head Ruslan Khasbulatov. During their talk at the House of Soviets the two sides discussed issues to do with the development of bilateral relations between the countries and their parliaments, participation in the activity of the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly, and the provision of international guarantees for settling the Nagorno-Karabakh situation.

The sides expressed their common concern over the fact that the treaties and agreements concluded between the two states are not operating to full effect. In this connection they expressed a desire to the Russian and Armenian legislative organs to step up monitoring of the implementation of these documents' provisions, primarily in the economic and financial spheres. The hope was expressed that the Russian parliament will speed up ratification of the two countries' intergovernmental acts. Ruslan Khasbulatov expressed his satisfaction with the development of the process of integrating and coordinating actions between CIS states, which accords with the interests of the entire Commonwealth and each of its members individually.

As a result of the talks held in Moscow an agreement was signed on cooperation between the Supreme Soviets of Russia and Armenia. Under this, the two sides will institute a permanent commission for cooperation between the two countries' parliaments. The commission's task is to encourage the development of interstate relations, contacts, consultations, and the exchange of information in all spheres of cooperation envisaged by the bilateral Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Security dated 29 December 1991.

Russian-Japanese Cooperation Bodies Meet

PM0906090993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Anichkin: "Russian-Japanese Entrepreneurial Lobby Formed"]

[Text] Something not entirely usual happened over the course of two and a half days at sessions of the first joint

conference of the Russian-Japanese and Japanese-Russian economic cooperation committee since the collapse of the USSR (2-4 June). It seems that for the first time Russian and foreign businessmen have jointly made claims against the government to achieve the introduction of order in foreign economic relations.

Russian enterprises in the past knew they were always the losers in relations with Japanese partners—ministries and departments always decided and planned everything for them. It was they and not the enterprises which made up the committee for economic cooperation.

Now Japanese firms know they are in a losing position. Whereas formerly it was clear to them that in dealing with Soviet enterprises they were, in fact, dealing with the Soviet state with all ensuing guarantees, now they cannot understand who is responsible for what in Russia and to what extent.

For instance, to this day the enormous sum of the Soviet enterprises' so-called commercial debts to Japanese firms for deliveries under previously concluded contracts remains unpaid. According to various calculations, it is $1.2 to 1.5 billion, that is approximately half the present annual trade turnover between Russia and Japan. Now the Soviet Union does not exist and enterprises are being turned into joint-stock companies and becoming private, but the debts remain and the government must be responsible for them.

Today a qualitatively new stage begins in trade and economic relations between the two countries, a stage whose main point is that these mutual relations are being moved to the level of business circles, Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and, at the same time, chairman of the Russian-Japanese committee for economic cooperation, noted at the conference.

To judge by the report from our Tokyo correspondent (see IZVESTIYA No. 102), the Japanese delegation consisting of 150 businessmen has come to Moscow with the most resolute intentions. It is interesting that the Russian businessmen are just as resolute, having paid 150,000 [currency not stated] per enterprise to take part in the sessions. Its participants, the leaders of the two committees stated at the final press conference on Friday, see one of their main tasks to be ensuring that the two countries' governments promote the solution of what they call functional problems which are holding back bilateral cooperation—currency and financial problems, the problem of debts, trade, and investments, and transport problems. So far, talk of problems in Russian-Japanese cooperation has either been in a rather politicized tone or at the level of mutual recriminations when there has been talk of the need to achieve headway in implementing individual projects.

According to some signs, it may be supposed that after the present conference on the basis of the two bilateral committees, a lobby will be formed to defend the interests of the two countries' industrialists.

Iran Embassy Denies Oil Shipments to Serbia

PM0906092393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

["Own information" report: "Iran Denies Egyptian Newspaper Report"]

[Text] The embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Moscow has published a statement in which it has resolutely rejected the report in the Egyptian newspaper AL-AHRAM regarding the conclusion of secret agreements on deliveries of oil from Iran and Iraq to Yugoslavia.

"Firmly denying this report," the statement indicates, "we again emphasize that no contract has been signed between Iran and Serbia or the new Yugoslavia in the field of oil or other trade spheres and any report to this effect is an outright lie."

Plant Seeks Help To Deport Vietnamese Workers

PM0806120193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Yuriy Vakhrin: "No Alternative"]

[Text] The administrators of a number of Ivanovo factories have been forced to appeal to the militia for help, having exhausted other means of getting rid of Vietnamese workers who are hell-bent on not returning home.

They have done no work for a year now and their visas expired in mid-April, but the Vietnamese have not left the plant hostels. Another attempt was made to accelerate the process at "Krasnaya Talka." The factory bought air tickets for 43 of its former workers, but it only managed to dispatch 19. Having run out of ways of settling the conflict by peaceful means, the labor collective appealed to the prosecutor for sanctions, asking him to expel them from Russia under escort for fraudulently breaching the visa regulations.

Grachev on WGF Visit, Aspin Talks, Ukraine

PM0806132793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Reports by Sergey Pashayev of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and Sergey Sosnovskiy of ITAR-TASS under the general heading: "Russian Defense Minister's Stay in Germany"]

[Text] The trip by Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian minister of defense, to the Western Group of Forces [WGF] ended with a visit to the best motorized rifle regiment in the WGF, which is commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Anatoliy Yelkin. There the minister met with personnel, inspected the grounds of the military

camp, and chatted with contract servicemen, of whom there are 332 in this regiment alone.

In a brief conversation with journalists the defense minister said that this was a working trip. He had listened to the commander in chief and to members of the WGF Military Council. They had discussed problems connected with the withdrawal of Russian troops from FRG territory and their accommodation at their new postings.

Answering a question from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent, Pavel Grachev singled out several complex problems which are being encountered today, in one way or another, by those who serve in the WGF. One of them is the appreciable increase in immigrant encirclement of the Russian garrisons. Structures of a mafia nature are frequently active in this milieu, and these make persistent attempts to seize weapons and ammunition and to incite our compatriots to quit their military units. The defense minister believes it most likely that their activity will increase as the withdrawal continues and the number of units is reduced. In this connection the WGF Command has been given instructions to reinforce the protection of Russian garrisons and military installations.

Another problem is that of keeping the WGF personnel up to full strength. The manning level is inadequate, considering the amount of work to be done at the concluding stage of the withdrawal. Unless we send additional personnel to the WGF in the very near future, the minister remarked, difficulties could arise with workloads, in particular.

The housing problem for those who are completing their service here and returning home is still on the agenda. Additional efforts are needed, the minister believes. He told journalists of his decision to allocate a further 20 million marks from the Defense Ministry's reserve to buy apartments for WGF servicemen.

There is also concern, Pavel Grachev continued, that there is still 40,000 tonnes of ammunition left in WGF dumps. The federal authorities do not permit its utilization on German territory. The transportation of these stocks to Russia will require approximately 2,000 railcars, which it would, of course, be more expedient to use to transport the property and materials which the troops need at the new postings.

After visiting the WGF, the Russian defense minister flew to Bavaria, where he met with his colleague Les Aspin, head of the U.S. military department. [Pashayev report ends]

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and his U.S. colleague Les Aspin had a working meeting in the Bavarian resort of Garmisch-Partenkirchen. "We have long wanted to get to know each other more closely, and I hope that we have now gotten to know each other well," the Russian minister told the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

There was an exchange of opinions on a wide range of issues, particularly that of ensuring safety on the seas, especially safety connected with nuclear-powered submarines. We discussed and outlined, Pavel Grachev continued, a number of specific aspects of cooperation—exchanges involving military leaders, delegations, and specialists. We agreed to hold a meeting of 100 young Russian officers with U.S. officers for the purpose of closer contacts. Questions connected with the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the possibilities of settling the conflict situations in the former Yugoslavia and Nagorno-Karabakh were also discussed. "The subject of the possible spread of Islamic extremism—I am deliberately avoiding the term Islamic fundamentalism—to the territory of Russia and the Central Asian republics of the former USSR and the situation in individual regions, including the Caucasus, were also touched on." Ths chief thing is that we were able to agree on a plan of specific measures and issues of cooperation between the two countries' military departments, Pavel Grachev emphasized.

Les Aspin added in turn that, in his opinion, the meeting had been highly successful and fruitful.

The journalists who gathered on the U.S. military base were interested in questions of relations between Russia and Ukraine in the context of certain disagreements over questions of nuclear weapons.

"Russia is not Ukraine's enemy," Pavel Grachev declared in this connection, voicing the hope that Les Aspin would be able to convey this to the Ukrainian leadership. He rejected, however, the idea that the United States could act the role of an intermediary between Ukraine and Russia. "Such a role can be ruled out," the minister said. At the same time he pointed out that it is his conviction that the United States could influence Ukraine with regard to its fulfillment of the commitments it adopted in respect of nuclear weapons, as well as the ratification of the START Treaty.

"If Ukraine makes the decision to stockpile detached missiles warheads on its territory, it will thereby be passing a verdict on itself as a state which possesses nuclear weapons," Pavel Grachev said. In this connection he issued a reminder that only Russia has been recognized as a nuclear state and that the conditions for storing such weapons have not been ensured in Ukraine. The Russian minister expressed confidence that Ukraine will nonetheless be able to resolve the question of nuclear weapons, since otherwise it will lose face as a state which does not fulfill its own promises.

Khasbulatov Receives German Chief Editor

LD0906113093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Parliament's press service reported today that Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, received Rolf Schmidt-Holtz, editor in chief of the publishers of STERN magazine, yesterday. During

the meeting, the two sides discussed the role of the Western press in the objective coverage of the process of democratic change in Russia, the course of economic reforms, and the emergence and development of Russian parliamentarism. Ruslan Khasbulatov, the release states, accepted with satisfaction Rolf Schmidt-Holtz's invitation to visit the FRG.

West Offers Wrong Kind of Aid To Back Reform

PM0806152193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Yuriy Mikhaylov, adviser at the "Reform" international foundation's Department of Foreign Economic Policy and Problems of the CIS, carried under the "Expert Analysis" rubric: "Western Aid: Promises and Reality"]

[Text] The latest Western "aid"—which comes to more than $43 billion—is now receiving extensive coverage in the Russian mass media. However, when you analyze the April accords in Paris, Vancouver, and Tokyo, as a result of which the agreement on these billions was achieved, you can draw the conclusion that, in reality, there has been no substantial change in the stance adopted toward Russian reforms by the industrially developed countries.

At the start of the year Russia's foreign debt in freely convertible currency, including interest, was $77.7 billion. Including the annual payment deferred in 1992 (around $23 billion), Russia should pay this current year (including interest) around $40 billion, $3.2 billion of which is short-term debt to foreign companies which supplied goods to the USSR in 1989-1991. How is this problem being tackled?

The agreement signed with the Paris Club on 2 April 1993 on revising the schedule for repayment of Russia's foreign debt is undoubtedly the most important element the accords achieved. Under that agreement, 18 countries which are creditors of the former USSR agreed that Russia will pay them only $1.95 billion in 1993, which will clear part of the overdue payments and part of the new credits obtained in 1992 and also be used to pay credits which are not being restructured. While the bulk of Russia's $15-billion debt to the Paris Club which falls due this current year will be paid off over 10 years, with no debt being paid off at all during the first five years.

Thus, you can say with certainty right now that, on the whole, the problem of our foreign debt has been resolved pretty successfully. Moreover, the agreement with the Paris Club also contains an important provision whereby other Russian creditors may not enjoy better terms than the official creditors of the Paris Club. This means that Russian representatives will be able to conduct talks on debt rescheduling on roughly equal terms with the London Club, with its membership of 600 Western commercial banks and international financial institutions. This involves $45 billion, and payments on it in 1993 are estimated at $23 billion.

The talks among G-7 foreign and finance ministers in Tokyo mapped out the basic guidelines governing Western financial assistance to the economic reforms in Russia. The total sum involved is around $26 billion.

Moreover, at the conference in Tokyo the representatives of certain G-7 countries reported on initiatives by their governments granting credits and loans to Russia this current year on a bilateral basis. The United States has, to date, expressed its intention to grant $1.62 billion; Japan $1.82; Britain $0.68; Canada $0.16; and the EEC $1.8. Germany, France, and Italy showed no interest at all in granting new credits or humanitarian aid to Russia.

Let us now look at how realistic all these promises are. Despite the deteriorating economic situation in Russia, the decline in Russian industrial and agroicultural output and exports, and its considerable foreign debt, the bulk of Western financial assistance is being offered us in the form of relatively expensive credits by international financial institutions rather than nonrepayable aid, which, incidentally, was granted during the economic reforms in Japan and Germany.

The processing of most of the credits from the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD], and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] will, practice shows, take a long time, and we should not really count on obtaining them this current year. For example, to obtain the IMF's $6-billion stabilization credit intended to maintain the ruble exchange rate it is necessary to clearly designate the ruble zone in the CIS and extricate those countries' economies from crisis—which is unlikely in the current year. And to attract the IMF's so-called "reserve" credit ($4.1 billion) we have to satisfy at the very least a number of conditions enshrined in the Fund's charter, wherein it is stated that the state budget deficit of a borrower-country must not exceed 5 percent and that there must also be a low monthly inflation rate. Are these figures achievable by Russia in the current year? Hardly.

Let us take another aspect of the issue. The export guarantees and export credit insurance guarantees which the governments of Japan and Britain intend to grant to their own companies do, of course, reduce the latter's risk in the event of nonpayment for goods received by Russian importers. However, for those guarantees to be able to come into effect we have to place orders with those particular companies and sign contracts for the import of goods, guaranteeing their payment. But, given that they do not have sufficient currency resources, Russian importers will scarcely be able to conclude a considerable number of such contracts. And consequently foreign exporters will not receive export credit insurance. In January-April 1993, Russia's imports, among other things, more than halved compared with the similar period last year.

To obtain an EBRD line of credit it is essential to create a small and medium-sized business development fund in

our country. The question of allocating an IMF line of credit to support systemic transformations in the economy of Russia and other CIS countries should be reexamined at the Fund's Board of Directors. Meanwhile the IBRD's $4 billion credit can be obtained only after the submission of appropriate expert analysis (and its approval by the Bank) of specific Russian projects, which also requires a long time.

The amount of bilateral nonrepayable aid and credits (excluding the EEC) promised in Tokyo is around $6 billion, of which $3.3 billion is accounted for by credits, $1.6 billion by export credit insurance, and $1.2 billion by humanitarian and technical and consultative nonrepayable aid, which is roughly 2.5 times less than we received in 1992. Among other things, given the present level of world prices for wheat and corn (which are now tending to rise) Russia could purchase out of the new $700-million American credit (one-third of which could go on paying the freight charges for the American ships carrying these goods) only 6-7 million tonnes in all, which is roughly two to three times less than our ordinary grain import requirements.

Thus the nature of the new "aid" package shows that the West is still doubtful about the irreversibility of our reforms and clearly wants through its promises to influence the process of reforming the Russian economy in the right direction.

Given our present grave economic situation, it would be far more important for Russia now if the United States and the other G-7 countries, for example, immediately lifted all discriminatory restrictions, including the COCOM restrictions, on the export of Russian technology. This also concerns the commercial launching of foreign satellites by our rockets, supplies of enriched uranium (unless stipulated under commitments regarding the burial of nuclear fuel waste from foreign nuclear power stations on Russian territory), jewelry, fabrics, fertilizers, and so forth. The lifting of such restrictions would enable us to increase our foreign currency earnings by several billion dollars annually.

Writing off part of the foreign debt owed, for example, by the other CIS countries and rescheduling payment of the Russian part of the debt from 1994-1998 to subsequent years would constitute another substantial element of real Western assistance to the reforms. Deferment of payment on a year-by-year basis does not create sufficient confidence for the reforms to be successfully pursued.

It is unlikely that in the next few years Russia's agriculture will be able to meet the home market's needs for a whole series of proiducts. The government will, as before, be forced to resort to foreign credits to import grain, butter, meat, and other food. However, we should be seeking to secure from the West the most favorable intergovernmental credit terms rather than using more expensive credit from international financial organizations, which, moreover, is always conditional on other tough requirements, this being particularly so of IMF credit.

From the standpoint of international practice, World Bank project credit is of chief interest for a borrower-country, as it is granted over a longer term (15 years on average) than similar intergovernmental credits. However, these credits should be used to boost production and improve the transport system. The most relevant credit now would be financial credit without strings. However, the West still rations out its allocation to Russia as it did prior to the reforms.

The Russian reforms could be helped by Western governments' actively encouraging those companies of theirs which are working jointly with Russian organizations to invest in priority spheres of our economy (the fuel and energy complex, conversion, agriculture, and health care) by granting them soft state loans, 100 percent export credit insurance, and so forth. That is to say, foreign companies and their banks would act as guarantors rather than our side. Such credits would also be repaid by the foreign companies out of the resources earned from the sale of Russian-made goods in the foreign market. Well-established foreign companies know better than our fledgling ones how to make effective use of such credit. In that case Russia's foreign debt would not grow. All this is well known to Western specialists. However, in practice these methods are either not applied at all or only applied in a restricted way.

When using foreign credits it is essential to analyze their terms carefully and strictly coordinate them with the strategy and tactics of the reforms. On the whole, however, the West's one-shot credit transfusions, even when they come to several billion dollars, will scarcely be able to improve Russia's position fundamentally, given its scale. Foreign credits can and should play only an auxilliary role in reforming our economy.

Problems, Prospects of Foreign Investment Viewed

LD0706120093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1118 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 7 (TASS)—In spite of cautious forecasts by international institutions, and of the many political, economic and financial uncertainties, the number of joint ventures in Russia with a share of foreign capital has grown quickly in the last three years, and the prevailing trend for the future is towards a steady increase of direct foreign investment in this country.

These are the main findings of the report "Foreign Investment in Russia: Problems and Prospects", the first ever on this subject published today in Moscow under the sponsorship of the leading Italian financial daily newspaper IL SOLE 24 ORE of milan and the agency INFOMART.

The report has been drawn up since February 1992 on request of the Committee of Foreign Investment of the Russian Federation, by a team of independent experts headed by Leonid Grigoryev, chairman of the committee and new Russian representative to the World Bank in Washington. The completion of the report has been possible thanks to the backing of the World Bank, rendered in the framework of technical assistance, and to the contribution of several experts of the Russian Agency for International Co-operation and Development.

According to the latest data released with the report, at the end of April 1993, 5850 joint ventures were registered in the Russian Federation. In the first quarter of 1993, 1357 new joint ventures have been officially registered, compared with 798 in the first quarter of 1992 and 211 in the first quarter of 1991.

Among the almost 2000 joint ventures actually operating in Russia as of October 1, 1992 (up to 35 percent of joint ventures has remained purely on paper) the United States ranks first, with 327 joint ventures, followed by Germany (334), Finland (163) and Italy (152).

At the end of 1992, the value of authorised capital of all jv [joint ventures] in CIS countries was estimated at 3.5-4 billion dollars, of which some 1.8-2 billion in Russia (starting capital). 76 percent of jv had an authorised capital of less than 1 million rubles, 19 percent from 1 to 10 million, 3.8 percent from 10 to 100 million and 0.4 over 100 million rubles. According to the CIS statistical committee, more than 195,000 employees work in Russian joint ventures, and the majority has a staff of no more than 200. Last year, 2533 operating jv in Russia, out of more than 4000 registered by December 1992, produced an output of 449 billion rubles. Total domestic sales were 170 billion rubles, plus 1364 million of valuta rubles. Exports were 1863 million dollars, against imports of 2036 million dollars.

Contrary to the widely expressed opinion that services are predominant in the activities of jv, 40 percent of jv operate mainly in manufacturing, including production of machine tools, equipment for sewing industry, telephones, clothes, wears, furs, food. They are concentrated in the central region of Russia (80.2 percent), in West Siberia (13.3 percent) and the Far East (6.9 percent).

Moreover, since March 1992, following the liberalisation of the law on joint ventures, direct foreign investment in Russia has increased manifold, and 1503 enterprises with 100 percent of foreign capital have already been registered, with 652 enterprises established only in the first four months of 1993.

Direct foreign investment officially registered by Ramsir (the Russian State Agency for International Cooperation and Development) totalled some $9.7 million in 1992 and $8.7 million in the first 4 months of 1993.

Provisionally estimated data show that most enterprises with 100 percent of foreign capital are American (some 348), German (128), British (124), Chinese (109), Swiss (69), Austrian (66), Italian (39), French, Polish and from Cyprus (some 34 for each country), Holland (33), Ireland (31), Liechtenstein (19) and Belgium (15) follow. The figure for Cyprus is believed to represent mostly offshore Russian capital re-invested in the homeland. More than 40 enterprises have capital from Singapore (18), Hong Kong (15) and Taiwan (7). Some 9-10 enterprises are from Panama. However, for amount of capital invested, the ranking is Germany (41.4 percent of the total), Great Britain (24.5 percent), USA (17.6 percent), Switzerland (3.2 percent), China (2.8 percent), Taiwan (2.5 percent), Cyprus (1.35), Austria (1.0 percent), Italy and France (0.7 percent each). But the figures for capital invested are generally of little meaning, often representing only a nominal value, that does not reflect the real size and value of actual operations.

In fact, 76 percent of enterprises with 100 percent of foreign capital has declared to operate in the field of services, 53 percent in trading, 43 percent in export-import and financial operations, 32 percent in production of consumer goods, 25 percent in construction and production of construction materials, 24 percent in printing, audio-video and advertisement production. These figures take into account that most enterprises have declared the intention to operate in more than one field.

More than 85 percent of the total capital of these enterprises has been invested in Moscow, 9 percent in St. Petersburg, and 4.5 percent in Vladivostok. The rest has been spread in 17 Russian cities and regions.

Chernomyrdin Questions EC's 'Discriminatory Measures'

PM0806154193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "Signing Postponed"]

[Text] An agreement between Russia and the EC on partnership and cooperation will not be signed 21 June as expected during Boris Yeltsin's visit to Denmark.

Journalists were informed of this by Russian Ambassador to the EC Ivan Silayev, commenting on the results of the meeting held yesterday in the Kremlin between Russian Federation Council of Ministers Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin and EC Commission Deputy Chairman Leon Brittan.

Valentin Sergeyev, director of the Russian Federation Government Press Service, informed journalists that during the hour-long talks between Viktor Chernomyrdin and Leon Brittan the head of the Russian cabinet asked the EC deputy chairman to explain the discriminatory measures being taken by the EC against Russia.

Yastrzhembskiy on Prospects for Russian-EC Agreement

LD0806160393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1540 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—A major aim Moscow has when elaborating an agreement with the European Communities is normal access of Russian goods to western markets, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today, commenting on results of a Moscow visit of Deputy Head of the Commission of the European Communities Leon Brittan.

In Yastrzhembskiy's words, it is important for Russia that the document provides for at least non-discriminative conditions. This issue requires additional work and the agreement will be signed later than it was expected.

The agreement is rather significant for both sides, as it will establish a mechanism of relations between new Russia and the European Communities, as well as become an instrument of cooperation.

The Foreign Ministry representative said he has no information on possible date of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to the Danish capital, where the agreement was expected to be signed.

GATT General Director To Visit Moscow 10 Jun

LD0806221593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1520 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva, 8 Jun—GATT General Director Arthur Dunkel is setting out on a visit to Moscow on 10 June in order to hold talks on Russia becoming a member of GATT. This was reported by official GATT spokesman David Woods at a briefing that took place here today.

In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent D. Woods noted that joining GATT would be "a very important step" both for Russia and for GATT, the purpose of which is both the setting up of a structure furnishing security and predictability in trade as well as the continuation of the process of liberalization of trade. At the present time, 111 countries are party to the agreement. The Russian Federation is one of the few large trading powers that remains outside the GATT "framework." Membership would have a positive effect on the market reforms in Russia, D. Woods noted.

The submitting of an official application does not signify "automatic" membership in GATT. As a rule, this is a lengthy process, in the course of which the country's trade policy is carefully studied. As far as the Russian Federation is concerned, then, in the opinion of D. Woods, the procedure would take "not weeks, not months," but a longer period of time.

Once it has received an official request for membership, the GATT council makes a decision, in accordance with procedures, on setting up a working group that is charged with analyzing the trade policy of the state that has submitted the application. The work is carried out on the basis of a memorandum submitted by the country. At the same time, the applicant state holds bilateral talks with the other contracting sides. After examining the report of the working group, the GATT council puts the issue to a vote. At least two- thirds of the votes of those party to the agreement are needed for the applicant to be accepted. After this, the party that is joining receives the right to sign the membership protocol. The decision on acceptance is confirmed 30 days later, if there is no need for the further ratification of the document by the national parliament.

Russia has had the status of a GATT observer since February 1992 as the successor of the Soviet Union. The former USSR received this status in 1990.

Currency Payments for Seamen in Gulf Listed

PM0806104993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "ASW Ship Admiral Levchenko Will Not Go To Persian Gulf"]

[Text] It has become known to IZVESTIYA that the Northern Fleet's large ASW ship Admiral Levchenko will not, as planned earlier, replace the Pacific Fleet's large ASW ship Admiral Tributs, which has completed its service in the UN peacekeeping forces in the Persian Gulf.

This decision was made by the Russian Government after consultations with the relevant UN services. The reason is simple: There has been a small easing of tension in the region. So far there is no acute need for the presence of a Russian ship there.

The Russian Navy financial and economic directorate told me that the suggestion made by the seamen of the ASW ship Admiral Levchenko that there is no currency in the fleet does not correspond to the real state of affairs. On the contrary, the country's government and the Ministry of Finances provided the seamen with all the foreign money they needed in 1993. And in large volumes.

Whereas in 1991-1992 the military seamen's combat service on long-distance voyages was virtually curtailed because of the luck of hard currency funds, since December 1992, and particularly this year, tens of ships and vessels have been beyond Russia's sea borders. Officers, warrant officers, petty officers, and sailors are mastering and improving their specialities in practice and are going on official friendly visits to foreign states.

In June, for instance, visits by Baltic Fleet ships to Denmark and the FRG are planned. The training ship Perekop and the hydrographic research ship Sibiryakov will visit the Jutland peninsula while the destroyer Nastoychiviyy will visit a German port. A detachment of Northern Fleet ships consisting of the missile-carrying cruiser Marshal Ustinov, the large ASW ship Admiral Kharlamov and the tanker Dnestr will visit Canada.

Incidentally, the Navy financial and economic directorate told us that according to norms set by the USSR cabinet of ministers, decree no. 438 of 6 July 1991—it is in operation to this day—stipulates that a first class ship commander receives $9 a day on a foreign voyage, a senior mate $8.5, a combat unit commander $7.5, a battery commander $6.5, warrant officers and servicemen on extended military service $6.5, and a petty officer and seaman 80 and 60 cents respectively. For civilians the figures are $7.5 for a ship commander, $7 for a navigator and mechanic, and $4 a day for a seamen and motor mechanic.

The crews of the large ASW ship Admiral Tributs and the escort ship Argun, which were on combat service for four months in the Persian Gulf, received $400,000 from the Russian government for their expenses. And not all this money went to pay the seamen's daily keep. Some was spent on buying perishable foods for the seamen, petty officers, and officers which they could not take with them from their home base and also on port costs—the fee for the pilot (in foreign ports only pilots have the right to escort ships to the dock), fresh water, payment for anchorage and the removal of garbage, and payment to the ship chandler—the commercial agent who provides the crews with everything they need.

Thus, during their voyage abroad the seamen of the Tributs and Argun received the following amounts: seamen $72, petty officers $96, warrant officers $720, lieutenants $780, combat unit commanders (captain-lieutenants and captains third class) $900, senior mate $1,020, and large ASW ship commander $1,080. All this money, according to the accounts which have reached the financial and economic directorate, were received by them at Abu Dhabi port (United Arab Emirates) through the "Sharaf Shipping Agency" firm.

The finance workers told me that so far they cannot account for each dollar spent—the accounts have arrived for only 220,000 greenbacks—but they are sure that the Russian seamen received everything without any deception, in accordance with the government's norms.

Norway To Monitor Kola Peninsula Radioactivity

LD0806182793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Dispatch by correspondent Yuriy Arkhipov]

[Text] The ecological situation in the Kola peninsula is worrying not only its population but also the Finns, Norwegians, and Swedes. The existence of such enterprises as RTP AtomFlot [Atomic Fleet Russian trade enterprise], Murmansk Shipping Line, the Pechenga Nickel combine, Kola nuclear plant, and many other in the Murmansk oblast has forced representatives of the enviromental organizations of the Scandinavian countries to seriously consider monitoring these enterprises, most of which use nuclear power installations in their work.

As a result of brief negotiations between the Murmansk oblast administration and the Finnmark county of Norway, the sides have signed an agreement on installing automatic stations for monitoring radioactive environmental pollution. The first one is already being assembled. It is situated near the Kola nuclear plant. This means that in a few days time when the work is finished, everything about the radioactive situation in the large area of Murmansk oblast will be known in Norway 24 hours a day. Installation of eight such stations in the Murmansk oblast is being planned.

Aleksandr Mikhailov, head of the Department of Radioactive Safety of the Environment of the Oblast Committee of Ecology and Natural Resources, believes that this is a very remarkable event. It means that the Murmansk specialists will also have access to the Norwegian computer network and use the data on the radioactivity situation in northwest Europe.

Incidentally, the Murmansk oblast did not have to pay a kopeck for the automatic monitoring station installed by the Norwegians. According to the agreement, the project is being financed by the governments of Norway and Finland.

Kola Peninsula To Get Radiation-Monitoring Network

PM0906113793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Khramtsov report under "Briefly and Clearly" rubric: "Beginning To Monitor Radiation"]

[Text] Last Sunday in the settlement of Verkhnetulomskiy, Norwegian specialists began to install an automatic station to monitor background radiation. It is planned to complete the installation work within five days. This will be the first of eight such stations which are to monitor radiation on the Kola Peninsula, which has the world's largest concentration of nuclear installations. Residents of Murmansk will carry out the monitoring work together with the Norwegian ecologists. The administrations of the Norwegian and Finnish provinces adjoining Murmansk Oblast are financing the entire program to create the network of stations.

Border Guards Commander Discusses Cooperation in Finland

PM0806121193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 2

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Colonel General Vladimir Shlyakhtin, commander of the Russian Federation Border Guard Troops, paid a working visit to Finland 2-4 June. During his meetings with the leadership of the country, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Border Guard Department, attention focused mainly on examining specific issues pertaining to the further development of cooperation between the two countries' border guard troops. The problem of ensuring a stable situation on the border in the interests of creating favorable conditions for broadening mutually beneficial cooperation between Russia and Finland was also examined.

Constitutional Conference

Further on Conference Proceedings for 5 Jun

Paper Publishes Alekseyev Speech

PM0806130393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Speech by Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the council of the Russian Federation president's Private Law Research Center, at the 5 June session of Constitutional Conference in Moscow]

[Text] I have been entrusted with a tricky mission—to provide a brief overview of the comments and proposals that have been made about the draft Constitution. First a little general information. So far 2,200 proposals and comments have been received. These proposals and comments have come in from 15 republics, from 63 oblasts and krays, from eminent representatives of the Supreme Soviet—people's deputies—and from citizens of Russia. The comments have been wise, interesting, and in many cases legally and socially shrewd.

As a result, by putting together the various comments and proposals, 432 amendments were formulated. I must note that this was not merely technical juridical work, not merely a matter of systematization and generalization. The work carried out by the commission is more significant and serious.

These comments and proposals are not merely intellectual or technical. Many of them voice not just concern, but also demands. And the main one of these demands, the one of crucial importance, is the demand for accord, accord not only in the sense of moderating our political passions and ambitions and being able to listen to and heed each other, but also the demand for a constructive all-Russian social contract, which must form the basis of the Constitution.

Perhaps this is why there were such frequent proposals to combine several draft constitutions.

The 432 amendments are not merely a working document. The members of the Constitutional Conference have now been presented first with the text of the draft constitution, which in itself encapsulated many constructive provisions. They have also been presented with the amendments—432 of them—and all the other documents received by the commission. They run to approximately 13 volumes. The Constitutional Commission's updated draft has been distributed to all participants in the conference.

I believe that there is now a unique opportunity to really implement accord, to integrate documents on the basis of the presidential draft, and to select all the best and worthiest elements.

At the same time it seems to me that yet another essential step mentioned in the president's speech is overdue. Maybe in general we should not focus our attention merely on the drafts, especially those associated with particular individuals, but should above all primarily attach paramount importance to the concept of the constitution, which can be seen very clearly in the proposals and comments that have been analyzed.

When we published the draft constitution, we did not merely receive comments and proposals, we received a certain instruction from the people. The concept of the constitution consists of two groups of demands voiced in the comments and proposals.

The first demand is that our people are tired of chaos, of the existing anarchy. A strong, effective, stable state power capable of overcoming all possible crises must be established in society.

The majority of those who spoke out about the draft constitution advocated presidential rule. But this question is not so simple. The parliamentary form also has its merits. Parliamentarianism in general is one of the linchpins of the constitution and of democracy. It is merely important to take into account the fact that a parliamentary republic can exist and exert a certain positive influence only in conditions of a stable society, when a stable system of political parties has taken shape. But even in this case parliamentary power is relatively weak and unstable, involving frequent changes of cabinet, and reforms implemented in a state with a consistently parliamentary system of power have dragged on for decades and centuries.

Therefore, while taking into account the importance of parliamentarianism and fully taking on board all its merits, the draft presented for your attention, and it is approved by the majority of those who reacted to it in comments and proposals, essentially proposes a presidential-parliamentary republic. A republic where the head of state—the president—ensures the state's integrity, shows concern for the state's integrity, ensures the functioning of executive power, and overcomes crises, where the Federal Assembly has a monopoly on legislation and the Federal Assembly exercises supreme parliamentary oversight, and where justice is implemented at the highest level by the courts—and all this in conditions, it is to be hoped, of developed and consistent parliamentarianism.

I think that what was mentioned in the comments and proposals and expressed in the hope that at long last strong, effective, and quite assured power will be established constitutes the first component in the concept of the draft Constitution. Now for the second component, the second element, which is also expressed in demands, comments, and proposals—really giving people democracy for everyone, for each person. And the essence of the concept of the constitution, and I hope it is difficult to argue with this, is that strong, reliable, stable power must exist within a regime of democracy. And a regime of democracy is not merely certain elections and the individual elements to which we formerly reduced this

institution; a regime of democracy is a formation consisting of many elements. I will venture to remind you of the four main components of a regime of democracy under which the strong, reliable, firm power must operate. They are components that will ensure its stable operation and prevent it from degenerating into authoritarian power.

The first component is human rights and freedoms defended by the courts. The comments concerning this sphere should be treated rather cautiously. Above all it is a matter of proposals to include socioeconomic rights in the constitution. They should be included as standards, as the president said today. But they cannot be equated with primordially fundamental human rights that give each person freedom and protect him from totalitarian power.

The second component of a regime of democracy is the election of all responsible officials and receiving a mandate from the people to exercise power. It is a question of universal elections of the president, universal elections of the Federal Assembly, and elections of municipal organs. The referendum is also part of this component.

The third component of a regime of democracy is usually expressed under the slogan of the "separation of powers"—preventing the concentration of power within a particular branch; this is a system whereby no organ, no component can lay claim to omnipotence. And this theme, this demand is voiced in many proposals and comments.

Finally, there is strong justice, justice that can oppose administrative arbitrariness from the bottom to the top and can protect everyone.

I think that if we put together the two components—sufficient strong, stable power and a developed regime of democracy—we will obtain a concept of the constitution that will help to solve all our complex and partly dramatic problems and will ensure success in our conference's work.

Now a few points about specific proposals and comments connected with the text of the draft constitution.

I think that all the proposals should be taken into account no matter what view we take of them, whether we like them or not. But I think there is one point that should be treated with the greatest caution. These are proposals and comments concerning the Federation. In no respect here must we lose what has already been achieved.

I believe that the Federation Treaty, although it is designated as the second section of the constitution, is the core of the entire draft constitution. It must entirely permeate the whole constitution. And all other decrees must be connected with it. Maybe we should merely give krays and oblasts equal status with regard to economic and social questions. We must certainly determine a mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty. But if the concept of the constitution forms the soul of this mechanism, the Federation Treaty forms its heart.

I think that we must treat this gain with great care, with extreme care, not retreating even a step from what has already been achieved and mindful that the Federation Treaty is the palpitating heart of our constitutional organism.

I will mention a few pressing problems. About presidential power. It is very good that, despite free interpretations—very free in some cases—most people have realized that the president is not a ruler, but the president is the guarantor of the state's integrity, of the effectiveness of executive power, and of the prevention of crises. But here too, obviously, some clarifications are needed.

I would draw attention to the amendments and proposals concerning certain formulas, for instance, even the formula defining the president as an arbiter. This formula creates the impression that the president towers above all the other branches of power, which is fundamentally incorrect.

We must take a careful look at the grounds on which the president can dissolve parliament and very clearly designate all these mechanisms.

As for the Federal Assembly and the government, I think that everyone has noticed that in the draft constitution the government gains its own high status and responsibility. At the same time, although this does feature in the draft, it should be more strongly emphasized that the monopoly on legislation remains with the Federal Assembly alone. Supreme parliamentary oversight should also certainly be strengthened, particularly regarding budget relations.

And a few words about justice. Justice, as already emphasized here, must be the number one branch of power. Justice must be the guarantor of democracy in our country. We should have another think about strengthening principles relating to justice, in particular about ensuring that elements of the judicial system are not dragged into politics. The separation of politics and justice is an extremely essential, extremely important matter for the constitution.

There were proposals to form, as Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov proposed, a single court, which could be a powerful prop.

But I think that the existing three courts are constitutional achievements, positive achievements. Their status and position must be consolidated. And maybe the Superior Judicial Office, with the slight corrections mentioned by the president, is a mild form of such unification.

Finally, the last thing I want to mention is the most difficult and dramatic point. It is the adoption of the new constitution. The range of comments and proposals is extremely wide. At one extreme is the view that the Congress alone should adopt it, at the other the view that

a Constituent Assembly alone should do so. But I think that since the referendum a tendency toward profound inner accord has emerged, albeit not a clear tendency. Some welcome this accord, others fear it. The ones who fear it are those who are concerned to preserve their own status and not to lose what they have, because accord will destroy this and result in a new democratic round. And I think that this movement toward accord which is emerging covertly and in dramatic forms will mean that there will be a degree of integration—of both a Constituent Assembly and the deputies.

I think we must move step by step toward wise accord, because Russia must at long last receive a firm constitutional support, tranquillity, and the confidence that its reforms will be carried out.

Filatov Explains Conference Procedures

PM0806115593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Speech by Sergey Filatov, leader of the Russian Federation President's Administration, at the 5 June session of Constitutional Conference in Moscow]

[Text] This Constitutional Conference is indeed the logical consequence of the 25 April Russia-wide referendum. The struggle for the concept and methods governing the implementation of economic reform have unfortunately spilled beyond the bounds of civilized argument, developed into a power struggle, and led to a political and constitutional crisis. And it must be said that the people proved to be wiser in the referendum; this is acknowledged by all, by many politicians. This is precisely why the subsequent steps which have to be taken—steps suggested by the people—must lead to accord for society and unambiguousness in the Russian Federation system of power. The adoption of a new Russian Federation Constitution is precisely such a step.

You know that the Constitutional Conference was preceded by 23 regional conferences in which representatives of 83 regions participated. The Russian Federation president held numerous meetings, from which three basic conclusions can be drawn. The first—almost unanimous—conclusion is that a new Russian Federation Constitution needs to be adopted speedily. The second conclusion relates to the Constitution proposed by the president. Almost a majority [as published] regard it as the base document to be worked on by all those present at the Constitutional Conference. And the third point relates to having the maximum legitimacy for the procedure for adopting the new Constitution. It is to this that the Constitutional Conference, to which the presidential draft Constitution has been submitted for examination, is devoted.

It is necessary to learn wisdom from our own people; not to continue the dissension and confrontation but to seek paths to cooperation; not to scare us with the prospect of wars but to strive for national accord with all the means at our disposal. This Constitutional Conference can be said to be a Russia-wide "roundtable" which has been so long-awaited and sought in our society. This processes enjoys support both among the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and among a considerable proportion of the corps of deputies. The reason for my reservations is that you will have seen that this does not apply to the whole membership. It seems to us that the Constitutional Conference has three tasks. The first is to formulate a unified draft Russian Federation Constitution taking account of all remarks and proposals received.

An integral draft Constitution will be presented to a plenary session of the Constitutional Conference on 16 June for a vote of general approval or disapproval.

The second task is to elaborate proposals for the procedure for adopting the Constitution. And the third task, which we regard as very important, is to sort out in principle and offer recommendations—pending the adoption of an election law—on how to elect a new bicameral parliament, whether it be a system of elections on the basis of party lists or some other system taking account of the characteristics of the components of the Russian Federation and the sociopolitical and social situation in the country.

It is perfectly realistic for this Constitutional Conference to resolve these tasks. Under the president's edict all the social and political groups of the Russian Federation are most fully represented in the composition of its participants. Five groups of representatives are participating in the Constitutional Conference. The first group consists of representatives of federal organs of power and comprises 162 people, including 95 people's deputies and members of the Congress Constitutional Commission, 50 representatives of the president and the Russian Federation Government, 14 representatives of Supreme Soviet factions, and three representatives of the Russian Federation Academy of Sciences. The second group consists of representatives of the components of the Federation. They have the broadest representation. The leaders of the republics within the Russian Federation and the leaders of executive and representative bodies, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg come to a total of 176. The third group consists of representatives of local self-government, which should include 26 people. They have been delegated by the Union of Russian Cities, the Union of Small Towns, and the Russian Association for the Revival and Development of Historic Small and Medium Towns, and others. The fourth group consists of representatives of political parties, public associations, trade unions, and religious faiths. This group totals 176 people, of whom 100 are from political parties and social movements. Democratic, communist, and youth parties and social organizations are represented here.

The very important constituent [sostavlyayushchiy] forces geared to the solution of difficult ethnic and interethnic problems should be singled out and noted.

These included the Assembly of North Caucasus Democratic Forces, the Confederation of Repressed Peoples of Russia, the International League of Numerically Small Peoples and Ethnic Groups, the Senezh Forum, and others. Representatives have been sent by 14 creative unions, three veterans organizations, three rights protection organizations, two environmental organizations, the All-Russia Invalids Society, and others. There are 58 people present from the trade unions, including 17 sector trade unions belonging to the system of independent Russian trade unions and six sector trade unions from the "Sotsprof" trade union association. There are 28 representatives from the free trade unions, an independent union of miners, mining and metallurgical industry trade unions, and others. There are 17 people from religious faiths.

The fifth group represents commodity producers and entrepreneurs. This group is represented by such leading associations as the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, the International Stock Exchange Union, the Germes joint-stock company, the International Association of Enterprise Leaders, the League of Entrepreneurs and Cooperative Members, the Russian Agro-Industrial Union, the Chamber of Trade and Industry, and others.

In all 762 people in five groups are scheduled to participate in the Conference. This kind of representation at the Constitutional Conference can really ensure the creation of a new Russian Federation Constitution.

I have to inform you that at the beginning of the Conference we had registered 692 people, that is, 90 percent of the conference participants invited.

Coordinators from the Constitutional Working Commission have been designated for each group. These are Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin and Aleksandr Maksimovich Yakovlev in the first group; Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, Viktor Nikolayevich Stepankov, and Anatoliy Stepanovich Tyazhlov in the second group; Yuriy Fedorovich Yarov and Boris Andreyevich Zolotukhin in the third group; Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak and Viktor Leonidovich Sheynis in the fourth group; and Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko and Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev in the fifth group.

It is proposed that the Constitutional Conference will be held from 5 through 16 June. There will be plenary sessions on the fifth and the 16th. And there will evidently be one other plenary session in between.

The procedure for work on amendments. The operational group formed on the Russian Federation president's instructions has conducted a preliminary analysis and generalization of over 2,000 comments and proposals on the draft Constitution. These include 1,300 amendments received from organs of state power of components of the Federation, 373 from citizens, 160 from people's deputies and factions, 140 from parties and sociopolitical associations, trade union and other social organizations, and religious faiths, 90 from federal organs, and 26 from local organs. On 5 June proposals had been received from state bodies in a total of 14 republics and 62 krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities. We know that additional comments and amendments are yet to come in after the meetings that have been held.

Generalized amendments to articles of the draft Constitution have been presented to the Constitutional Conference participants, who will have to work on them in groups and in the Constitutional Working Commission. Each group will have a set of all amendments, comments, and proposals received both before and in the process of the Constitutional Conference.

All the groups will examine the draft Constitution article by article. The generalized amendments submitted by the Working Commission will be put to discussion at this stage. A decision on each amendment—to approve or reject it—will adopted by a simple majority of votes in the groups of representatives. The final decision on the results of voting in groups will be made by the Working Commission for Working Up the Draft Constitution. In the event of differences within a group or if there are proposals for a new amendment to be examined the question will be decided by the Working Commission, whose decision will be conveyed to all five groups in the same wording for examination and the adoption of an assessment.

After the groups complete their work the representatives and the Working Commission will complete work on the text of the draft Constitution taking account of the decisions and proposals of the groups of representatives.

The Working Commission will submit the text of the draft Constitution to the 16 June plenary session, and following a report by the president a decision will be made on whether to approve or reject this draft of the Constitution. In line with proposals from representatives of the components of the Federation a decision has been made that amendments should be accepted and examined in the course of the Constitutional Conference's work both by the groups of representatives and by the Working Commission.

It is to be hoped that Constitutional Conference participants will leave all dissension, confrontation, and aggressiveness outside. Today the entire world, the entire country is hoping with bated breath for a positive result to the Constitutional Conference in the hope that the will of the people will be fulfilled and we will move closer to the moment of its acceptance. We hope that the Constitutional Conference's work will be constructive and fruitful. We for our part will do everything to promote the achievement of the main objective—peace, accord, and the certainty that the Russian Federation will have a new Constitution.

Leaders See Threat of Dictatorship

PM0806160793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appeal to Russian Federation Citizens"]

[Text] Following the notorious events of 5 June at the first plenary session of the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin, the leaders of the representative organs of the Russian Federation components taking part in the work of the Constitutional Conference have issued an appeal to the citizens of the Russian Federation.

We quote here the text of this document:

Esteemed citizens of the Russian Federation! Veterans and young people, workers and peasants, intellectuals and servicemen! We appeal to you at an exceptionally important and critical moment in the history of our Russian state.

Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin spoke at the Constitutional Conference 5 June 1993 without even bothering to hide his direct threats and attacks on the Congress of People's Deputies, the soviets, and all democratic organs. The entire situation in the country, including the situation at the Constitutional Conference, demonstrates that the dictatorship of a single individual with unlimited powers is being reborn in our long-suffering Russia. Democracy, which has been so agonizingly won by our people, is under threat.

The newly emerged "democrats" have in the space of three years driven our state to economic, political, social, and moral disintegration. The bulk of citizens have been impoverished and humiliated. A torrent of lies and deception has swamped the press, radio, and television. Our attention is thus diverted from the tragic consequences of their profoundly antipopular policy.

Today, when the question of their responsibility for what has happened is raised in real terms, the so-called democrats are setting themselves the task of giving unlimited power to the president, destroying the power of the people, and turning the people into an obedient agent of the will and wishes of the president and his entourage. And all this is being done under the guise of formulating a new Constitution.

Citizens of Russia!

In these worrying hours for our fatherland, when the president's statement all but indicates his willingness to go down the unconstitutional road, we leaders of the representative organs of the Russian Federation components appeal to you and all social movements and political parties: Rise up to defend democracy, statehood, and your civil rights!

[Dated] 5 June 1993, Moscow.

The appeal is signed by about 50 leaders of representative organs of Russian Federation components. More signatures are still being added to the appeal.

Delegates Criticize Khasbulatov Walkout

PM0806135593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy report: "Khasbulatov's Coming and Going"]

[Text] The masters of intrigue are truly immortal.

The story of what happened in the Kremlin's Marble Hall on the opening day of the Constitutional Conference is already well known. Straight after President Boris Yeltsin's report, in which he described the current situation in Russia as well as the defects of the Soviet system and deemed the main task to be the most speedy adoption of a new Constitution, Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov made for the rostrum. Fervent in his support of standing orders and implacable in switching off microphones, this time he evidently believed that order was a selective thing and that waiting your turn (Corresponding Member Sergey Alekseyev and Sergey Filatov, head of the President's Administration, were to have been second and third to speak respectively) is the lot of "ordinary" deputies and nondeputies. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who was chairing the plenary session, and the president asked the speaker not to disrupt procedure and the speaking order and suggested that the second plenary session—for which no prior provision had been made—begin with his statement, but Khasbulatov insisted and was given the floor.

Then in the best traditions of Bolshevik congresses part of the hall started to give him a slow handclap. The president urged them not to turn the conference into a congress of people's deputies, but to no avail. Khasbulatov was then once again asked to postpone his speech to the second day of the conference. His response was to walk out of the hall. He was rapidly followed by around 70 participants in the conference.

Evidently, inspired by the speaker's example, Communist Deputy Yuriy Slobodkin tried to take the rostrum by storm. The security guards did not regard this entirely favorably and started to push Slobodkin into the aisle. An ugly rowdy scene developed. Slobodkin brandished a shoe in the air, and the burly guards removed him from the hall.

Meanwhile, on the steps down from the Marble Hall the offended speaker, closely surrounded by journalists, "gave vent to" his speech. The longer he spent reading it, the clearer it became why Khasbulatov wanted to make this speech at the very start of the conference. The actual vocabulary used in the speaker's statement is indicative.

He pointed out first that "some people" want to supplant the question of the evolutionary and revolutionary options for Russia's development with the question "of

Supreme Soviet tendencies toward reaction and restoration and the executive's progressive-Westernist tendencies," and then the speaker described the president's draft constitution as "flawed in advance," "founded on the worst tsarist tendencies, and involving a drastic violation of human rights and irresponsibility on the part of the federal authorities." This was described as a worst-case scenario, "even compared with the current Constitution," "unacceptable to the Russian Federation," and "explosive" for it. Clearly distorting the real situation, Khasbulatov likened the executive to a "dictatorial regime" and the president to a "monarch" conferring a constitution that bears his own signature. He claimed that people's deputies are being "forced to issue antiparliamentary statements" in order to "legitimize illegal actions" and "are being gathered together by plotters in various places and set against the speaker."

One could not help but be struck by the fact that his tough speech with its hard-line tone would have been far more suitable to close the conference had it adopted decisions that the speaker found unsatisfactory. To make such a speech when the conference participants had not even embarked on discussing the future constitution and the 2,000 proposals they have received obviously aimed to achieve something far removed from "constructive and creative cooperation."

For Khasbulatov, who has long put up dogged, tough opposition to the president's efforts to adopt a new constitution, it was as unacceptable to be left out of the Constitutional Conference, where virtually the entire Russian sociopolitical spectrum was represented (hence the decision to "be sent" there just a day before it started), as to take a real, businesslike part in it and thus involuntarily become an "accomplice" to the accord that is quite attainable through compromise.

In this connection journalists in the conference lobbies regarded the scenario that unfolded (or, more precisely, was staged) as the most favorable for R. Khasbulatov. At first you even got the impression that a dramatic situation was developing for the conference. Constitutional Commission Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev read out in a fit of temper a draft statement written in the cloakroom, in which he presented the "so-called conference" with the terms for those who walked out to return to the hall.

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, one of the leaders of "Civic Union," told your correspondent: "The situation is very deplorable. I would not want it to develop into large-scale confrontation. We, the representatives of 'Civic Union,' viewed our invitation to the conference as the president's invitation to engage in dialogue. But the conditions for dialogue must be in place."

Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin answered IZVESTIYA's question about the situation that has developed at the conference by saying that it caused him "profound regret": "I came here to where I thought there would be a 'roundtable' of national accord. But can accord really be reached by scenes like these? Accord must be ensured come what may." (It would have been hard to disagree with the Constitutional Court chairman had he not himself left the Marble Hall, thus refusing to make efforts to seek accord).

Yevgeniy Kozhokin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Intelligence Subcommittee, viewed the violation of deputy's immunity perpetrated against Slobodkin as an "inadmissible breach of the law." He assessed the situation on the whole as a "trap where two extremes staged a scenario from which it will be very hard to escape."

But the more time that passed, the more obvious it became that the walkout staged by Khasbulatov and around 70 of his supporters is not as dramatic as it first seemed. First, the majority of the conference participants remained in the hall. Second, only a few of those who walked out followed the speaker's Mercedes to the White House, and even former Union deputy Yevgeniy Kogan, whom it is hard to suspect of sympathizing with the president, pompously declared that "walkouts are not allowed." Third, the clear majority of conference participants are well aware of the underlying reason for the speaker's demarche. Here are the opinions voiced by some of the people to whom your IZVESTIYA correspondent spoke.

Georgiy Satarov, director of the Center for Applied Political Studies: "It was a question of wrecking by any means any attempt to reach accord. The president was absolutely right when he said that if the Constitutional Conference adopts any decision, it will be impossible to bypass or skirt it. And that is what certain forces find most terrifying. And this had to be stopped from the outset."

Valeriy Savitskiy, the president's representative: "The attempt by Khasbulatov, an equal among equals at this conference, to introduce the mores that he has cultivated at the Supreme Soviet is the reaction of a man who feels that he is having the wind taken out of his sails. The president's rating has soared, while Khasbulatov's has plummeted drastically, so he needs a scandal to draw attention.

"As for Zorkin's walkout, I cannot understand how the Constitutional Court chairman can be perpetually involved in political life. A judge should keep quiet and only utter Constitutional Court rulings."

Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov: "Had Ruslan Imranovich really wanted just to speak, he could have agreed that in advance. Everyone must undoubtedly be allowed to defend their viewpoint, but in a normal, intelligent manner. It is better to do that without television because some people start working not for the cause but to their audience, and become performers."

Vladimir Lukin, Russian ambassador to the United States: "This involved a premeditated act by one side and a mistaken response by the other. It is quite obvious that this was orchestrated—the intention being to come along and cause a scandal. The president acted quite

correctly in giving Khasbulatov the floor, but it is disgraceful that he was subjected to a slow handclap."

Lawyer Andrey Makarov: "You have to be consistent nonetheless. Ruslan Imranovich did not walk out in the first place, he just turned up. He did not come to the Marble Hall to work constructively, but in order to walk out.

"He was told clearly that the farce which happens at congresses would not happen here, work is under way here, and there will be order. Moreover, the president asked for another plenary session to be held specially for him. The speaker responded by walking out. But let us remember how Ruslan Imranovich switches off microphones in the Supreme Soviet 'just like that,' particularly when they are being used by people he does not like. There was none of this here, things were discussed with him normally. But the man has gotten so accustomed to going unpunished and having total license that he has lost his sense of proportion and his sense of responsibility. Responsibility to himself and, most importantly, to the country. As for the Slobodkin provocation, I can pass no comment on this—I am a lawyer and in this case you need a psychiatrist."

St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak: "All the country's political and social forces did indeed come together at the conference. And that is a very good thing because the Constitution concerns every one of us. And those who are trying to provoke a scandal and wreck the conference are behaving abnormally. We have heard this same Ruslan Imranovich speak on thousands of occasions about the need for Russian unity and the need to preserve the state. But if that is actually what you want, why do you set about deliberately exacerbating the situation?

"As the head of the political parties section, I for instance invited Ruslan Imranovich, Slobodkin, and everyone who wanted to organize a demonstration today to have a businesslike discussion in the section of all the questions and all the serious proposals that have been made. I studied the Liberal Democratic Party's draft constitution. And, while by no means being one of [Liberal Democratic Party Chairman] Zhirinovskiy's supporters, I can nevertheless see that this draft does contain practical ideas and provisions. There are things that I consider unacceptable, but there is also a basis for joint work. And I am convinced that we will be able to find common positions and reach agreement. Because the Constitution is not the program of a political party, but a document by which the state must live."

President Boris Yeltsin had a brief encounter with journalists and voiced the following opinion of the start of the Constitutional Conference: "Despite the well-planned attempt at provocation, the conference has done some work and performed its task today."

Further on Proceedings of 7 Jun Session

PM0906104993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Constitutional Conference Not Disrupted. It Is Still at Work"]

[Text] The incident during the first plenary session of the Constitutional Conference 5 June that resulted in 70 supporters of Speaker R. Khasbulatov walking out of the forum did not change its standing orders. Work in groups began, as scheduled, at 1000 hours 7 June.

Vice Premier S. Shakhray opened the regional group session and expressed his regret at what happened at the Constitutional Conference 5 June. He went on to say: "I hope that working contacts with republic leaders and Supreme Soviet representatives as well as the initiative made by a number of republic leaders will bear fruit."

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent learned from Kremlin sources that the contacts with Supreme Soviet representatives that Shakhray mentioned did indeed take place 6 June in the office of S. Filatov, head of the president's administration. The intention was voiced of discussing the speaker's behavior at the conference. It was pointed out that there are signs that this was premeditated and designed to block the work of the Constitutional Conference. The president's administration learned the day before the conference opened that this action was being prepared. The president was also informed of this. The president received no one from the Supreme Soviet 7 June. According to some reports, the leaders of a number of regions have prepared a draft statement which essentially says that the representative power should return to the conference without making ultimatums.

Filatov told journalists that several representatives of the Supreme Soviet leadership had expressed a desire to meet the president to discuss the situation that has taken shape. The president is willing to have a constructive meeting and this may be held 8 June.

Participants in the group sessions began discussing amendments to and proposals on the Fundamental Law. In the group of components of the Federation representatives of a number of republics, including Sakha-Yakutia, Bashkortostan, and Kalmykia, as well as Kamchatka, Nizhniy Novgorod, and other oblasts, drew attention to the fact that the amendments they had proposed had not been incorporated in the two volumes of constitutional amendments. The group of representatives of local self-government entities asked the participants in the Constitutional Conference to hold a plenary session as a conciliatory, stabilizing factor and an opportunity for the deputies who walked out to return to their work.

Constitutional Conference Continues 8 Jun

Shumeyko Notes Businessmen's Support

LD0806123093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] The Constitutional Conference is continuing its work in the Moscow Kremlin today. Our correspondent Georgiy Sovtsov reports:

[Sovtsov] Since the main procedural matters were settled yesterday, the sections immediately got down to examining the amendments. Sergey Stankevich reported that work in the section of political parties and organizations was organized as follows: the number of the fundamental law was given, then the amendment was read out and it was either rejected or adopted by a majority vote. Incidentally, of the 170 people registered, 120 are now taking part in the section's work.

Before today's session opened, Vladimir Shumeyko, Russian Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, spoke about the section's work. In his view, all groups decided to examine three issues: First, the structure of Russia, then federalism, and issues of local self- government. The manufacturers' and entrepreneurs' section was most interested in Russia's state structure. Vladimir Shumeyko's comment to the effect that the majority of entrepreneurs were at heart constitutional monarchists and wanted a unitary state was unexpected. As for why this is the case, listen to this recording.

[Begin Shumeyko recording] It has to be said that a significant proportion of entrepreneurs are at heart constitutional monarchists, and they all want a unitary state so that there are no borders, no extra customs, and no impediments to the organization of the market and the export of goods. That is all quite understandable. So, from this point of view, they devoted very careful and lengthy discussion to amendments relating to the Federation Treaty being an integral part of the Constitution. [end recording]

[Sovtsov] Vladimir Shumeyko did not deny the possibility that an additional plenary session will be convened, but regarded this proposal with some skepticism. Furthermore, he voiced the hope that those representatives of the bodies of local self-government who left the hall on 5 June would return.

Group Chairmen Cited on Progress

LD0806142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—Co-chairmen of working groups of the Constitutional Conference, which has been on for three days in Moscow's Kremlin, positively estimate the forum progress.

Today's morning session of the group of federation subject representatives considered Articles 19-24 of the draft constitution, noted group co-chairman and head of the Karelian parliament Viktor Stepanov.

"A normal democratic work is underway to display pluralism of opinion," he told correspondents. Heated debates were provoked by the discussion of the owner's right.

Speaking of a meeting of republican heads with Russian President Boris Yeltsin scheduled for today, Viktor Stepanov said: "We are trying to build this bridge to enable normal work on the draft constitution".

Co-chairman of the group of political parties and movements, public organizations and religions Viktor Sheynis said his group did not progress much today. "We are discussing Article 8 of the draft constitution," he added. Both drafts of the new constitution are taken into account with the help of a comparative table of the two drafts circulated amongst forum participants.

In the opinion of Sheynis, several variants of the constitutional resolution are likely to be adopted on key issues. The most realistic is the one to help the public understand major aspects of the constitution.

Sheynis described as absolutely necessary the soonest adoption in this or that form of a transitional law on supreme power bodies, as well as a law on elections. "Certainly, it would be good to adopt the constitution, but it is better to count on a minimum program—the two laws".

In his opinion, the law on supreme power bodies can be done as an amendment to the current constitution.

Sheynis believes many forum participants share this idea. Working groups have been set up to consider the problems.

Report on Proceedings

LD0806193293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent A. Pischayev, including interview with Constitutional Conference delegate Telman Gydlan by correspondent K. Belov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The president will remain open to approaches both from the Corps of Deputies and from the constructive section of the Supreme Soviet, that would make it possible for the framework of the Constitutional Conference to be extended. Some of those who attended the meeting with the president explained the motives for their temporary absence from the conference and their subsequent return. [video shows meeting in progress throughout; Sobchak and Shakhray are seen to be present]

[Pischayev] Nearly all the commissions of the Constitutional Conference were working at their normal pace today, although, in the Political Parties group, discussion of the Basic Law proceeded unusually slowly. In the opinion of Viktor Sheynis, the group's coordinator, several versions of a decision on key questions in the draft constitution will probably be adopted. That is understandable, since many views are being expressed among the participants in the Parties and Movements section.

In the group of representatives of members of the Federation, according to its coordinator, Viktor Stepanov, a lively discussion developed over the question of the citizen's right as an owner. At the same time, Sergey Shakhray stressed today that, in all probability, the Constitutional Conference will have to opt for levelling out of the status of krays and oblasts to the status of republics within the Russian Federation.

At today's news conference, Anatoliy Sobchak, one of the leaders of the Political Parties section, declared that there was a group at the conference that was engaged in preparing a transitional constitutional law. [video shows Belov interviewing Gdlyan]

[Belov] To judge from the comments of some of those attending the Constitutional Conference, one gets the impression that the process will never end. In other words, a constitution will probably never be adopted, but some kind of constitutional law will emerge from it. What do you think? Is that possible?

[Gdlyan] Certainly. A mini-constitution may be adopted for a transitional period.

[Belov] Will that put an end to the confrontation between the two branches of power?

[Gdlyan] I do not think so.

[Belov] Three days of the Constitutional Conference have ended. What is the result?

[Gdlyan] I think that there is a positive result. The result satisfies us participants. But it seems to me that that is not the main thing. We shall go through the whole of that process here. Some kind of constitution or draft constitution will be drawn up, and it will be placed on the Russian president's table. But the hardest thing is to find a mechanism for adopting that constitution. In the mechanism, there may be sizable disagreements, and today everyone realizes that the question will arise in one way or another. There are five ways, and they all have drawbacks of one kind or another.

Yeltsin Meets Republic Leaders

LD0806165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1610 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jun—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with heads of Russian Federation republics at their request in the Kremlin today.

The first days of the work of the constitutional conference were appraised and the high degree of state responsibility and the spirit of political cooperation characteristic of Boris Yeltsin's report were emphasized.

It was stressed that the constitutional conference is proceeding in a constructive spirit and the groups are actively seeking wording for the draft new constitution.

The participation of experts, law specialists, Russia's leading lawyers, and members of the Constitutional Court promoted the business-like nature of the work.

Having highly appreciated the atmosphere of concord that characterizes the work of the groups, Boris Yeltsin stressed that a compromise is necessary, of course, but it should be developed not at some "top level" where one of the sides shows a certain decline of its political prestige, but at the very heart of the problem. In this broad spectrum of the constitutional process, the president remains open to moves to meet him half-way, both by deputies' groups and the constructive part of the Supreme Soviet. If people understand this circumstance, the president said, the framework of the constitutional conference could be expanded.

During an exchange of views, some of those attending the meeting with the president spoke about their temporary absence from the conference, to which they returned later. This was announced by Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary of the Russian president.

Shakhray Briefs Media on Progress

LD0806143193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1213 GMT 8 Jun 93

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We now turn to the main story of the day, the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin. As we know, the conference and its participants are now working in their groups. There are five such groups; an hour ago Sergey Shakhray, who heads the group with the leaders of the members of the Russian Federation, held a news conference for Russian and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

This question arose at the news conference: There are five sections, so will there be five draft constitutions and if so, how will a final draft be drawn up? Let us listen to what Sergey Mikhailovich Shakhray said:

[Begin Shakhray recording] At the final plenary session there will be a vote on whether or not to approve a draft. That is, not on endorsing it, or adopting it, or initialling it, but just whether to approve a draft so that, as the president said on 5 June, it can be sent on to the next phase, which will be initialling by the members of the Russian Federation.

This initialling will not be within the framework of the Constitutional Conference or during it, but after we have all tried to find a common way forward. For example, we know that the Supreme Soviet has ordered kray and oblast soviets sending delegations to this stage of proceedings to strip them of the right to initial, revise, or sign any text. We do not want to exclude representatives of soviets at various levels, so we are not making it essential that they initial anything.

The final session will give overall approval to a draft, bearing in mind that this will have a purely advisory meaning for the purposes of coordination.

Now, regarding representatives of soviets: There have been reports that many of them are ready to return. I do not know about the other groups, but chairmen of oblast and kray soviets are playing a very active role in it. The chairman of the Nizhniy Novgorod oblast soviet, Krestyaninov, is being very helpful. So are the chairmen of the Krasnodar kray soviet, Zhdanovskiy, and of Irkutsk oblast soviet, and others.

Therefore, representatives of soviets are playing an important role in our group's work. I think that after the coordinating procedures that will take place today and tomorrow, the soviets will play an even more important role. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] A questioner from MAN AND LAW magazine asked: How are the forces ministries [interior, defense, and security] reacting to this constitution? Second, is that famous pilot, Aleksandr Rutskoy, doing anything? Does he intend to do anything?

[Begin Shakhray recording] One thing is clear: The forces ministries are not applying pressure on the participants in the Constitutional Conference. There have been some suggested amendments from the Interior Ministry and the procurator-general. This is the most forceful of the forces ministries—the procurator-general does not fall into this category—and they have carefully studied the draft constitutions and submitted their suggestions. When we reach the articles in question, they will have a chance to speak on the same terms as anyone else who has drawn up an amendment and is defending his viewpoint.

As far as I know, the vice president is not taking part in any of the groups at the Constitutional Conference. [end recording]

Further Shakhray Comment

LD0806180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1714 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—The elaboration of a status of Russian Federation subjects will be the most difficult issue at the Constitutional Conference, Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray told a news conference here today.

Nevertheless, there are a number of possible compromises and ways out from this problem.

"It is clear we should equalize the status of territories and the regions to the status of republics within the Russian Federation in the sphere of economy, norm-making, guarantees of rights and freedoms of citizens on territories of these subjects," said Shakhray. In his opinion, conference participants will come to a conclusion, representation of federation subjects in the supreme legislative body should be also equal.

Shakhray considers it "quite real" to elaborate a single text by the end of the Constitutional Conference. Although, conference participants also discuss a possibility to adopt "some transitional variants".

Speaking of decisions taken by section meetings, the vice-premier noted representatives of federation subjects have decided to make provisions on fundamentals of the Russian constitutional system a separate article. It is expected to include eight articles of the presidential draft and twelve from the draft of the Constitutional Commission.

At the same time, Shakhray believes wordings to underline the special status of Kazan and preserve the unity and integrity of the Russian Federation and its constitution, will be elaborated within the framework of the Treaty on Division of Authority Subjects between Russia and Tatarstan.

Article 61 of the Tatarstan Constitution, which dwells on the associated membership of the republic in the Russian Federation, does not seem so "frightening" to Shakhray, as many try to present it.

In his opinion, the constitution of a federal state like Russia can include a wording, "on whose basis constitutional-agreement ways out to settle the relations with the Republic of Tatarstan can be found".

'Good Prospects' Reported

LD0806165693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Perfilyev, including recording of remark by St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak at constitutional conference briefing in Moscow on 8 June; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Russian President Boris Yeltsin met heads of the Russian Federation's republics in the Kremlin about an hour ago. The reason for the meeting was the intention of the republican leaders to demand during the Constitutional Conference that all the subjects of the Federation enjoy the same status, and to enter this provision into a new constitution.

Today those taking part in the constitutional conference discussed amendments to and comments on the draft of the main Basic Law of Russia, of which there are more than 2,000 so far.

[Perfilyev] The meeting has been taking place in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. The journalists accredited to the Kremlin describe as the most important event the fact that three working groups have already adopted an amendment to the constitutional draft, which asserts that all the subjects of the Russian Federation have equal rights. This was also reported by Anatoliy Sobchak, the coordinator of the group of political parties, trade unions, and youth and popular organizations, at a news conference held in the afternoon.

[Sobchak] We are discussing the president's draft, the one tabled by Yeltsin, and everything else is being discussed as additions to it.

[Perfilyev] In reply to a question on whether the mayor of St. Petersburg intends to run for the post of Russian president, Anatoliy Sobchak said he will decide this when the official pre-election campaign actually begins.

[Announcer] According to Vladimir Shumeyko, the Constitutional Conference has good prospects and is proceeding normally, without political interference, in all the five sections. At the same time the vice premier is convinced that certain people will still try to hamper the work of the conference, but he is sure the organizers of the conference will cope with this.

President Aushev of Ingushetia believes that the demand by a number of krays and oblasts that they must have the same status as the Russian Federation's republics is not justified. In an interview with INTERFAX he said that this will be the main problem Boris Yeltsin and heads of republics will encounter during the negotiations which began about an hour ago in the Kremlin.

Delegates View Issues

LD0806185393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1755 GMT on 8 June carries a 15-minute video report on the constitutional conference by correspondent Andrey Bystritskiy. He begins by saying that the report will deal with the work of the constitutional conference group in which government representatives, including Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, are taking part. Bystritskiy goes on to interview members of that group.

Vladimir Tumanov, doctor of juridical sciences, says that representatives of the government, the Constitutional Court, and the Presidential Council are taking part in the work of the section. The group is currently focusing on the first part of the constitution—articles on rights and freedoms.

Vladimir Kudryavtsev, vice president of the Russian Academy of Sciences, explains why he does not particularly like the idea of equal status for all regions: It would lead to the disintegration of Russia.

People's Deputy Vladimir Lukin explains it is more important to adopt a long-term constitution. Anatoliy Vengerov, doctor of juridical sciences, says the role of the Congress of People's Deputies in adopting a new constitution is not defined in the current constitution. This means that it can be legally adopted by other bodies, not just by the congress.

Konstantin Borovoy, a leader of the Economic Freedom Party, says that the conference might as well go ahead and adopt a new constitution now.

Constitutional Conference Continues 9 Jun

Yeltsin Seeks Deputies' Input

LD0906082993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0720 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jun—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin sent a telegram today to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet inviting people's deputies of the Russian Federation, as well as heads of Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, to take part in the Constitutional Conference which continues to work in Kremlin on finalizing the draft of the constitution of the Russian Federation. This was announced by the press service of the Russian Federation president.

Yeltsin Cited on Progress of Groups

LD0906092493 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Report by Vera Shchelhunova from the Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Ten minutes ago Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin visited this Kremlin building where several constitutional groups have been meeting. To be more precise, Yeltsin was heading there to take part in the session of one of the working group. He met with correspondents for just a few minutes. This morning, Yeltsin met with the so-called first group—comprising representatives of the federal organs of power of the Russian federation.

This is what he said: I have just seen Chernomyrdin's group. They are having a calm, very professional talk. Things are perhaps proceeding slowly but in very thoughtful and earnest way. Boris Nikolayevich said that the danger is that various groups may adopt varying decisions. I must say that each group is working on the whole draft of the constitution—not just on one section of it. The president's draft has been taken as a basis but other proposals are also being considered. As a rule, these proposals are taken from the draft of the constitutional commission. Often articles or parts of articles which are worded better in the draft of the constitutional commission are included in the president's draft. Nevertheless, the groups may reach varying decisions. To avoid ending up with five differing drafts, the president proposed that in order to help the working group which meets every evening to carry out some purely editorial

work, a so called constitutional and arbitration commission should be set up. It should consist of constitutional and arbitration court judges and highly qualified lawyers. The commission will create a joint draft constitution before the plenary session.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was asked whether he was afraid of ending up with five varying draft constitutions. He said he was not afraid. The constitutional and arbitration commission will play its role. So, the work is proceeding without much disagreement. At any rate, according to the president's report, all the working groups have finished with the first chapter. And there have not been any substantial disagreements on it.

As for the disagreements in the Supreme Soviet and the rumors that the president is to meet the Supreme Soviet Presidium or a number of its members, Yeltsin said he had received an urgent letter from the deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, requesting to meet the president, and at 1500 this meeting with Ryabov and possibly with some other members of the presidium will take place. Some ten members of the Presidium are not happy about the voluntarist style of the Supreme Soviet leadership and the behavior of the Supreme Soviet in the constitutional process. Another question concerned tomorrow's plenary meeting. It has indeed been scheduled for tomorrow. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said that today the Supreme Soviet is to make up its mind whether Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov is to speak at the plenary session. This decision will indeed depend on the decision of the Supreme Soviet, and of Khasbulatov himself. Then Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov is expected to speak. Leaders of the working groups and sections will be given five minutes to speak. The evening session is expected to debate the draft. Every speaker will be given five minutes too. That is all that the president has said.

In any case his attitude to the possibility of a so-called constitutional law for the transitional period is such that he believes that it is the very last option. Yeltsin hopes the Constitutional Conference will work out a text acceptable to all.

Further Yeltsin Comment

LD0906132893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] After visiting the working groups of the Constitutional Conference, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin described the work on the country's new basic law as calm and professional. To discuss the articles of the constitution that evoke special differences, the president proposed setting up a constitutional arbitration commission. It could consist of the judges from the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and the Arbitration Court.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] There is a danger it may turn out that different groups, taking into account that they are going through the entire draft of the constitution and all the amendments, might adopt different decisions on one and the same chapter. Practically all of them have been through the first chapter, and there are doubts with regard to it. They have substantially supplemented the first chapter from the first chapter of the draft constitution of the Constitutional Commission. That is very good. They have proceeded article by article in a (?standard manner) and taken some articles from that draft of the constitution. As I said in my report, the preparation was more detailed, so to speak, than reflected here in the first chapter. [end recording]

The president reported that he received a letter today from six members of the Supreme Soviet headed by Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the parliament. This message mentioned a wish for a meeting with the president. And, according to Boris Yeltsin, this meeting is to take place today.

The president said that a plenary session is to take place at the Constitutional Conference tomorrow. The results of the work done will be summed up at it. It is proposed that all the coordinators of groups are to speak. The president stressed that if parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov is instructed by the Supreme Soviet and wants to speak at the plenary session himself, he will be afforded the opportunity.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What is your attitude to the proposal regarding the law on the transitional period?

[Yeltsin] For me that is for all that very much a back-up option. If for all that we managed to get the constitution through, that would be better. [end recording]

Yeltsin Meets With Administration Heads

LD0906085393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] A meeting between the Russian president and administration heads opened today in his residence in the Kremlin. It is thought that the meeting will primarily discuss issues linked to the progress and possible results of the Constitutional Conference.

Yeltsin Meets Presidium Members

LD0906151793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jun—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met today with several members of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium. The initiative for the meeting came from Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and a number of heads of committees and commissions of the parliament, among them Nikolay Ry[illegible]is received], Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, Vladimir

Podoprigora, Aleksandr Pochinok, Sergey Stepashin, and Mikhail Mityukov. After the meeting they told journalists that Boris Yeltsin had again expressed regret about the incident that took place during the first day of the Constituional Conference.

At tomorrow's plenary sitting, which the Russian Federation president plans to chair, he will give the floor to Ruslan Khasbulatov to make a speech, according to the participants in the meeting. Moreover, noted Nikolay Ryabov, Boris Yeltsin told the participants in the meeting that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet would be invited to join the presidium for the sitting on the final day of the plenary sitting of the Constitutional Conference. In the course of his meeting with the members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium the Russian Federation president confirmed that the Constitutional Conference should adopt a decision on the procedure for adopting Russia's new constitution.

PRAVDA Lists Complaints Against Conference

PM0906103593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Viktor Trushkov report: "Explosion in Constitutional Field"]

[Text] I think that few people in Russia will be sad that the Constitutional Conference convened by the president had only enough energy to work until lunch on the first day.

Obviously B. Yeltsin and his immediate entourage are scared about giving anyone the floor without having familiarized themselves with the text of any speech beforehand.

But the scandals on the political Olympus, the overt hooliganism of the president's security guards (in the episode with People's Deputy Yu. Slobodkin the entire world saw the practical application of the "rights and freedoms of the individual and the citizen" under the Yeltsin regime), the statements, and the press conferences are merely the surface of events. Their deeper essence is that the ruling regime is going beyond the constitutional framework—as predicted by PRAVDA (see "Wrong Soul Mate," 3 June 1993).

First, the existing fundamental law and the Rumyantsev and "Yeltsin" draft constitutions envisage formal legal "equality" among the three branches of power. On the first day of the Constitutional Conference the executive structures demonstrated their vision of this declared equality by depriving the legislative branch of a vote—during a discussion on the fundamental law!

Second, the president's actions—his report, his failure to curb the hooliganism of his security guards in breach of deputies' inviolability, and his entire behavior at the conference 5 June—in practice constitute a "deliberate violation...of the constitution, undermining the state system" and "demeaning human rights and freedoms" (phrases taken from the "Yeltsin" draft fundamental law). These actions are aimed at cutting across both the existing constitutional system—of which the soviets of people's deputies are one of the foundations—and the planned constitutional system based on the separation of powers and, formally, on noninterference by the executive in lawmaking. This kind of behavior by the president presupposes under the present Constitution (Article 121.6) that he should be removed from his position.

Third, the president's supporters seem to all intents and purposes to be encouraging a provocation against the Constitutional Court and its judges by means of the presidential directive to remove the security guards from the Constitutional Court. This reflects the attitude not just to the supreme judiciary, but also to the law and the very possibility of forming a rule-of-law state. After all, the decision as to which buildings require security is not made at the whim of some official.

Fourth, pointedly expressing their absolute disdain for the legislature and the judiciary, the creators of the "monarchical" constitution began on the spur of the moment to unconstitutionally remove constitutional structures that were not to their liking. That is how they are acting with regard to the Russian Federation vice president.

Fifth, contrary to the results of the April referendum, which were by no means unanimous, presidential structures are aiming to remove the opposition from the political scene.

Of course, the shamelessness of the aggressive radical wing of pseudodemocrats is boomeranging on them, laying bare their rejection of the very principle of constitutionality. Through their excessive haste of the first day they deprived themselves of the chance to declare the conference a "constitutional assembly." But the Kremlin goings-on of 5 June have made everyone quickly shed their illusions that the current president is capable, both now and in the future, of guaranteeing the observance of the Constitution. The explosion in the constitutional field is the result of his actions. Clearly this is a field that only the soviets are now capable of defending.

Opposition Conference Offers Only 'Rejection'

PM0806151393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Frolov report under the rubric "In Connection with the Constitutional Process": "United Only in Rejection"]

[Text] It is a new and as yet very rare phenomenon in our politics for the opposition to attempt to get in first. The All-Russian Constitutional Conference which was convened on the initiative of the Public Committee To Defend the Constitution and the Constitutional System, the "Russian Unity" parliamentary bloc, and a number of political parties and movements, took place in the

parliamentary center 3 June. It was to serve as an alternative and warning to the Constitutional Conference called by the president which is opening today.

It is necessary to state that different sections of the opposition came to the conference with different preconditions. V. Anpilov reported to the conference that the left-wingers—the Russian Communist Workers Party and the "Working Russia" movement—not only have a draft Soviet Socialist Constitution produced under People's Deputy Yu. Slobodkin's leadership, but have already collected 1,090,000 signatures in support of the demand to conduct a referendum on this draft. He proposed a resolution saying that in the event of the presidential Constitutional Conference attempting to declare itself to be a constituent assembly, the opposition conference should act in the same manner and adopt its own constitution.

Yu. Slobodkin stated his intention to try to get parliament to hold a referendum on the "Working Russia" draft, and in the event of a refusal or of bureaucratic stalling to appeal to the Constitutional Court. He therefore supported R. Khasbulatov's point of view on holding a referendum on the three drafts—the presidential, parliamentary, and socialist drafts.

Other factions at the conference were less decisive and determined in their attitude. In the opinion of I. Fedoseyev, people's deputy and secretary of the Constitutional Commission, who made a speech on basic matters, it is unrealistic to submit the three drafts to a referendum as not one of them would pick up the required 50 percent of the votes. The parliamentary draft is somewhat unfinished. It is best to produce a single draft, to agree it with the components of the Federation, and to have the Congress adopt it. Incidentally, People's Deputy O. Rumyantsev, the official in charge of the self-same Constitutional Commission, who put himself forward as a neutral person, expressed himself in the same vein. He reported that the working group had already taken into consideration the provisions of Article 37 of the presidential draft when elaborating its single text, and proposed that the Constitution be adopted at the Congress in November, but only in its first reading.

The "Communists of Russia" faction of deputies is at the moment also putting the finishing touches to its draft, which was first published more than a year ago. Like Yu. Slobodkin's draft, it defends the soviet principle for the state system and abolishes the institution of the presidency (it is for this very reason that only a referendum is fit to adopt it). It is not out of the question that both drafts could be combined.

In contrast the Liberal Democratic Party defends the very opposite in its short but lively draft: strong presidential power plus dissolution of the Federation, and the replacement of territorial division by a system of provinces. Without this, V. Zhirinovskiy said, Russia will collapse.

So about what were the conference participants of one mind? About the fact that the constitutional process which the president has organized is the latest in a series of cover-ups of the continuing public and state coup, an attempt to legitimize the criminal comprador bourgeoisie. It can only exacerbate still more the social split in the country and push the Federation toward collapse. "Adopting the Constitution in these circumstances," Professor E. Volodin said, "signals conscious provocation of civil war," and he called for a moratorium to be declared on any new constitutions.

Professor O. Mironov from Saratov; V. Ilyukhin, State Counselor of Justice; Professor S. Kara-Murza; and G. Zyuganov, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Federation Communist Party; supported this view as a whole and adduced various arguments in its defense. There remains one way to preserve civil order—to defend the existing Constitution and improve it by making amendments to it.

People's Deputy M. Lapshin, chairman of the Agrarian Party, clearly and concisely putlined the possible social consequences of foisting the presidential draft on the country: If the principle of completely unlimited purchase and sale of land is proclaimed, the peasants will "break away," and create their own peasant republic which will be able to defend their right to own their own land.

The conference adopted several resolutions in defense of the constitutional system. The main conclusion which they drew came down to recommending that all the opposition forces do not participate in the presidential constitutional conference or give their blessing to the country's collapse through their presence. The constitutional process should proceed within the framework prescribed by the existing Constitution. There are not as a whole the conditions in this country and society to adopt a new Constitution in an accelerated manner.

So, on this occasion an opposition event got in before the presidential one, but, unfortunately, the overall initiative remains in the president's hands. The opposition is still only united in rejection and not in putting anything forward. The lack of a unified constructive platform continues to be an increasingly vulnerable weak spot for them.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Demands Progress on Federal-Local Relationship

PM0906154593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 2

["Edict of the Russian Federation President on Urgent Measures on State Building Within the Russian Federation," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 4 June, No. 850]

[Text] The political statement by the heads of Federation components to the Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies gave an assessment of the political reforms in the Russian Federation and clearly indicated the desire of the republics within the Russian Federation and the krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations to move over to the practical realization of building the Russian state on the basis of democracy and consistent federalism.

Guided by a desire to preserve Russia's statehood and territorial integrity, and viewing the realization of the Federation Treaty and the implementation of constitutional reform as a single process and a condition for the formation of truly federal relations, I decree:

1. That the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the Russian Federation president's State Legal Administration are by agreement with Federation components to form a working group to prepare within one week draft laws ensuring the realization of the Federation Treaty and defining

the procedure for collaboration between the organs of state power and administration of the Russian Federation and the organs of state power and administration of federation components in spheres assigned to the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal organs of state power of the Russian Federation and spheres of the joint jurisdiction of the organs of state power of the Russian Federation and its components;

guarantees of the exercise of the economic rights of the republics within the Russian Federation and the krays and oblasts, the autonomous oblast, the autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and also guarantees of local self-government; the principles of the structure of the state's financial system are to be elaborated;

the responsibility of the organs of state power and administration of the Russian Federation and its components for creating and safeguarding a system of guarantees of civil rights and freedoms, and also for actions hindering the exercise of these rights and freedoms;

the procedure for the creation of norms by Russian Federation components in spheres assigned to the joint jurisdiction of the organs of state power of the Russian Federation and its components until the adoption by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet of the relevant fundamentals of legislation.

2. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government:

is to prepare draft acts regulating the procedures for concluding agreements between the federal organs of executive power and the organs of executive power of federation components;

is, by agreement with the organs of executive power of federation components, to deliver by 31 July 1993 proposals on transition to a decentralized system of administration of the national economy and the organization of the administration of the Russian Federation's economy in the transitional period.

3. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government:

is to rigorously comply with the Federation Treaty in preparing normative acts and not to interfere in questions assigned to the jurisdiction of federation components;

is to ensure the implementation by 31 August 1993 of its normative acts, and also the acts of ministries and departments of the Russian Federation, in line with the Federation Treaty.

4. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to organize propaganda work to advertise measures aimed at implementing the Federation Treaty, improving collaboration between the federal organs of executive power of the Russian Federation and the organs of executive power of federation components in the interests of ensuring the rights of the individual and the interests of society and the state.

5. The chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the leader of the Russian Federation president's administration are to monitor the execution of the current edict.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] 4 June 1993; Moscow, the Kremlin

No. 850

Khasbulatov Hits Executive's 'Corruption'

PM0806114593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 pp 1-2

["Exclusive" interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by Boris Slavin, editor of the PRAVDA Political Department; place and date not given: "Ruslan Khasbulatov: 'We Are Not Twiddling Our Thumbs'"]

[Text] [Slavin] Ruslan Imranovich, today's political realities have highlighted the constitutional process, even though, in my view, the authorities should be dealing more with the economy than with politics. Unfortunately, we are not dealing with the best kind of politics. In this connection how would you assess what happened at the Constitutional Conference 5 June?

[Khasbulatov] Many aspects of this conference are striking—the selection of its participants, the president's confrontational report, the security people's crude, strong-arm approach to deputies, and, finally, the refusal to allow the Supreme Soviet chairman to speak. All this is reminiscent of the darkest days of totalitarianism. As a result of these unconstitutional actions our country has

now been pushed away from democracy and a rule-of-law state to the most unconcealed dictatorship.

[Slavin] I see this as a kind of result of the alternative formulated by Shakhray in his discussion with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA staff—either the president's constitution is adopted in the summer, or we will be facing a revolutionary situation and civil war in the fall.

[Khasbulatov] Shakhray's forecasts have never come true, so far as I am aware.

[Slavin] But I am thinking of the very way he raised the issue.

[Khasbulatov] As far as the way he raised the issue goes, if the president's entourage wants to push the country toward a certain alternative, that is another matter. That turn of events is possible, if there is no opposition to it. But we are not twiddling our thumbs—we have an opportunity to neutralize many Shakhrays and prevent both a civil war and the adoption of an unconstitutional constitution. That is unambiguous.

[Slavin] Are you relying on the experience gained from the opposition put up by sober-minded forces to Yeltsin's March coup attempt and on the people's reaction to the May 1 tragedy?

[Khasbulatov] I am relying on the country's public opinion. Currently 90 percent of people disagree with the attempts by Shakhray, Burbulis, and Poltoranin (that entire team) to do something very serious—adopt a constitution at "Stakhanovite speed." We will not stand for that, and there is no force that can make us. Even dictatorial regimes have pushed their constitutions through constitutional organs—that is, through the representative authorities, through parliament. Our parliament will not allow a draft constitution to be put into effect if it does not correspond to society's interests. I am also put on my guard by the methods that people are using to push through the president's draft.

[Slavin] Do you believe that sober forces will still have a chance to state their case at the conference?

[Khasbulatov] If one is to believe what you wrote in PRAVDA about the possible scenario for the conference, and bearing in mind what happened 5 June, then sober forces will not get a chance to do so. They simply will not be allowed to say anything.

[Slavin] I have heard that the president's team has been "working" on the corps of deputies. For instance, Filatov assembled many deputies and promised them a gold mine, apartments, and so forth for being loyal to the president's draft constitution.

[Khasbulatov] A lot of what you wrote about the taming of parliament is coming true. Considerable pressure has been brought to bear on the chairman and his deputies with a view to winning them over to unconstitutional actions and causing discontent among extreme left-wing and extreme right-wing forces. But the fact that deputies and Presidium members are running to Filatov is demeaning. Just imagine if the U.S. President's chief of staff were to gather congressmen together and promise them some kind of recompense. There would be an explosion of anger across the country. They and the organizer of the meeting would be removed.

[Slavin] I think that this is one of the features of the Russian political "establishment." Look, PRAVDA published the article "Yeltsingate," which showed the mafia nature of the activity of top political officials. And what happened? There was no reaction. These politicians would have resigned long ago in Western countries. But our crowd does not bat an eye. How do you explain this kind of behavior from our politicians?

[Khasbulatov] How do I explain it? It is due to colossal corruption in all the upper levels of the executive. In this sense I agree with the vice president. Of course, the corrupt will strive to prevent any investigation of criminal actions. Thus, we are talking about a very dangerous phenomenon—corruption which is increasingly becoming part and parcel of the mechanism whereby political decisions are elaborated, adopted, and implemented.

[Slavin] Perhaps it is those who are corrupt who have the greatest interest in a tough, dictatorial draft constitution? As has been the case in certain Latin American countries. Do you make that link?

[Khasbulatov] I do. The idea is that the executive can maintain total control over any process in society, first and foremost the exercise of free speech and press opinion. The executive has a clear desire to get a grip on everything and prevent the public from familiarizing itself with the facts about the gigantic embezzlement of the country's wealth, thereby saving itself above all. That is why this unacceptable plan for adopting the constitution is being put forward...

[Slavin] Ruslan Imranovich, what methods, in your view, will be used to advance the president's draft constitution?

[Khasbulatov] I think that they will resort to the following tricks: First, they will smooth things over a little—look, they can say, we have made concessions—and then try to implement what they had planned.

[Slavin] But that is an old dealer's trick—first ask a high price, then come down slightly and get what you originally wanted.

[Khasbulatov] Of course it is an old trick. The plan is that when the conference participants see that its organizers are making concessions, they will heave a sigh of relief and agree to the draft. That is one aspect; the other aspect is the shameless horsetrading with the regions. You, the regions—they say—support the president's draft constitution, while we are prepared to make concessions to you, as far as violating the principle of the integrity of the federal state: that is, we recognize your

desire to secede. This is a very dangerous approach. It is graphic evidence of the desire on the part of the executive to hang on to power at all costs, even at the cost of the state's collapse.

[Slavin] But we have already had this experience with the Union.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, we have already had this experience, and we should not repeat it. I have already said that, even if I were the only deputy, I would still not give my blessing to this draft. I do not want my name to go down in history alongside those of Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

[Slavin] Nonetheless, what will your strategy and tactics be in connection with the adoption of the new constitution, and how will the remaining deputies behave at the Constitutional Conference?

[Khasbulatov] Of course, I do not know how they will behave at the Constitutional Conference. Some deputies consider themselves absolutely free and not dependent even on the Constitution. One would hope that they would act from a position of constitutional legality. That is the first point. As for our actions, they are quite logical. We should work out a good version of a parliamentary republican constitution and submit it to the Congress.

[Slavin] Do you advocate one or many draft constitutions?

[Khasbulatov] Of course I advocate having one draft constitution—a common one. But if a confrontational situation is foisted on us, we will raise at the Congress the issue of holding a referendum on the three drafts.

[Slavin] Why on three?

[Khasbulatov] I have repeatedly said why. The referendum showed that society is segmented into three major sociopolitical and philosophical strains: There is the quite considerable social base that the president has, whatever line he may follow; there is the very large base of social support for centrist democratic reform forces, in which I include myself, the vice president, and most of our deputies; and, finally, there are forces of a communist and socialist orientation—why deny it?

[Slavin] What, in your opinion, does this third strain feed on?

[Khasbulatov] In the recent past not everything was bad. In material terms, on the nationalities issue, and in ethical relations between people, for instance. Even a madman would not have imagined the erosion of moral norms that we see today.

[Slavin] Are you referring to the behavior of representatives of the executive during the referendum?

[Khasbulatov] Both during and since the referendum. I am referring in general to the immoral actions of certain top officials, and their personal behavior.

[Slavin] Won't the adoption of the new constitution be a repetition of what happened during the recent referendum?

[Khasbulatov] No, we will not allow that to happen. We have experience now. We would not hold a referendum so hastily. We would prepare for it thoroughly. We would ensure that it was possible to campaign, not least through the electronic media. We would do considerable amounts of work with the soviets as organs of people's power and people's rule [narodopravstvo]. We would include them in the process of implementing legality within the sphere of propagandizing the different draft constitutions. Everything would be more organized and more honest this time round.

[Slavin] As a supporter of the socialist view I am struck by the breakdown of programs on TV. I would like to recall that in the late eighties we had five opposition programs on TV, whereas now there is just the one—and people are constantly trying to shut it down.

[Khasbulatov] Let us be frank: There is nothing democratic about the current democratic regime in the sphere of propaganda. That is why I take a resolute stance on this issue. Although a democrat by conviction, position, and outlook, I am dealing with people who reject democracy outright.

[Slavin] Ruslan Imranovich, journalists and political scientists continually set one figure against the other—Yeltsin against Khasbulatov and vice versa. Why do you think this is?

[Khasbulatov] I do not even know why. My position cannot be compared to that of the president. I represent the representative authorities, while he represents the executive.

[Slavin] Nonetheless, there is a kind of logic to this confrontation—I am thinking of the different political stances taken by the president and the Supreme Soviet chairman in respect of the results of reform, the course of history, and so forth. These different stances have been evident ever since the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies.

[Khasbulatov] Quite right, Boris Fedorovich. Back at the Sixth Congress we proposed modifying reform and changing the ways and means of implementing it. Together with Voronin, Filatov, and Shumeyko we jointly elaborated our own version of economic reform—reforms that were **socially oriented**. We proposed ways of avoiding inflation, the plundering of national wealth, price growth, and the slide toward the collapse of the Russian Federation and social confrontation.

[Slavin] That is, what were called the results of "shock therapy"?

[Khasbulatov] Yes. And the fact that the president's aides have now seized on the term "socially oriented economy" should not mislead anyone. If people really

want a "socially oriented economy," then we have to tell them honestly that we were wrong about the forms and methods for implementing reform.

[Slavin] That is, today's reformers should openly say that they are switching from Hayek to Keynes?

[Khasbulatov] Of course, to both Keynes and Erhard. But once you have recognized the failure of your former orientation, you should take the next step of changing the content of reform in a socially oriented way. But, as we can see, everything is staying the way it was.

[Slavin] Many of your comrades-in-arms and co-authors have now gone over to the other side. Are they traitors to their philosophy?

[Khasbulatov] More likely they never had a philosophy. Like they say, he who pays the piper... And then things are so much cozier, after all.

[Slavin] Cozier because they are closer to power?

[Khasbulatov] Because they are closer to power, warmer, and do not need to torture themselves thinking about what is happening to people.

[Slavin] Weren't these the kind of people you were thinking of in your recent report, when you said that certain Supreme Soviet Presidium members needed "treatment"?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, they were the very people I was thinking of.

[Slavin] Given your leaning toward a socially oriented economy, tell me: What philosophical niche would you now place yourself in—communist, socialist, social democrat, or liberal?

[Khasbulatov] Most probably, classic social democrat. It is no accident that I mention social democracy. After all, I have long espoused Keynesian philosophy. I taught it to students and postgraduates.

[Slavin] Tell me, what is your attitude to the very rapid change in the political views of M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin? I recall that the former switched from communist to social democratic views literally in the space of a year, and later rejected altogether the socialist option that he had formerly favored. The latter changed instantly from an orthodox communist to a robust liberal anticommunist as soon as he flew over the Statue of Liberty and saw a few American store windows.

[Khasbulatov] You are right to say that Gorbachev and Yeltsin underwent a rapid change of political views. But I am not noted for having undergone any fundamental change of view. You will recall, I think, that Yu. Vlasov said that he did not believe in people suddenly seeing the light.

[Slavin] Neither do I.

[Khasbulatov] And I am not someone who suddenly sees the light either.

[Slavin] You were Yeltsin's deputy for a long time, and you probably know him quite well. How do you explain his abrupt policy changes? Three months ago I spoke with Boris Nikolayevich as I am speaking with you now. He had some very sensible ideas about the need for agreement among all constructive forces in the country, including "Civic Union" and the communists. What is the reason for his abrupt change of course since 20 March?

[Khasbulatov] Quite frankly, I feel sorry and sad for Boris Nikolayevich. For one reason—he is not the man running things in the state at the moment. I do not know why (there are a lot of rumors about it, but I will not mention them). But Boris Nikolayevich does not have real power.

[Slavin] What do you mean—a good tsar and bad nobles?

[Khasbulatov] Not at all. No way do I think that it is a case of the good Boris Nikolayevich and his wicked aides. You see, the logic of the system itself is highly irrational. Regrettably, both I and the president himself were involved in its creation. Strangely enough, it allows several governments to take immense power into their hands.

[Slavin] What are you referring to?

[Khasbulatov] Look, we have one constitutional government—Chernomyrdin's. But it is not the most influential. The most influential figures are the several deputy premiers, who can in practice both block and make decisions. Chubays, for instance, who is implementing privatization as he sees fit by way of presidential edict.

[Slavin] Probably some more fundamental interests manifest themselves through Chubays.

[Khasbulatov] Of course they do. Chubays quite clearly believes that all state property should absolutely be placed in private hands—irrespective of whether they are honest hands or not. In his opinion, it is necessary to carry out denationalization in the guise of privatization. To place public property in private hands immediately, even if you only get pennies for it. The main aim is to denationalize the state sector as fast as possible. Clearly, this cannot be called the "socially oriented" reform which the president and the premier have been talking about.

[Slavin] It clearly plays into the hands of mafia structures and various compradors.

[Khasbulatov] Of course it does. Another deputy premier is Shumeyko, who also acts directly through the president. The finance minister is another deputy premier, who is also following his own line. That is, there is no united government team. To all intents and purposes, there are several governments within the government.

The president himself also has his own unconstitutional government—his chancellery, his administration with Filatov at its head. It carries out major administrative decisions, attempts to lead the regions, and appoints administrators under nobody's control. All these governors and mayors are semilegal and unconstitutional. As you can see, there are four or five governments instead of just one. And they compete with each other. Each one of them wants to be closer to the president. And every day sees the appearance of edicts about which the premier often knows nothing.

[Slavin] Yes, I have heard, for instance, that the premier did not have a copy of the famous presidential edict on the introduction of so-called "special rule" 20 March.

[Khasbulatov] Shakhray too is being very active, prompting a very great deal of discontent in the republic, oblasts, and krays.

[Slavin] He is said to have his eye on the presidency.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, they have a lot of people in that category.

[Slavin] What about Shumeyko?

[Khasbulatov] Him too, and Sobchak as well. At a recent conference it is said that people were openly flattering Sobchak to his face, saying that they hoped Anatoliy Aleksandrovich would soon be in a different job.

[Slavin] The current executive has been in power for two years now. It has moved away from assurances along the lines of "just wait and be patient" to the "everything's OK, everything's fine" approach. What is your opinion about that?

[Khasbulatov] Unfortunately, there is nothing OK or fine about the economy. The current reforms are leading to the destruction of agriculture and industry. Our entire machine building sector—particularly the high-tech end—is threatened with collapse. High technology is to all intents and purposes being destroyed, thanks to conversion. Inflation is literally bringing about the collapse of production. Directors are barely preventing it from being wiped out. Private farming is doomed—out of 200,000 private farmers you would be lucky to find 2,000-3,000 real commodity producers. Sovkhozes and kolkhozes are on their last legs too. On the one hand high technology is being destroyed while, on the other, the oil and gas extraction complex is undergoing a sharp expansion—that is, our role as the world economy's raw-materials appendage is increasing. And this is no accident: We are being integrated into the world economy as a third-rate country. I do not think that either Chernomyrdin or the president grasps this, but Gaydar and Chubays, who are doing everything deliberately, realize it perfectly. Once advanced technology is destroyed, we will lag behind forever. The defense and space industries will be ruined. Just imagine—a third-rate power with nuclear weapons. The possibility that the "blue helmets" would have to restore order cannot be ruled out.

[Slavin] Do you believe that opposition will grow because of this?

[Khasbulatov] All the citizens of Russia must grasp this "prospect" I have outlined. They must recognize their responsibility to their children and to future generations. All politicians must recognize their responsibility to the state and to history. This recognition is already under way. We recently held a conference of people's deputies from soviets at all levels. They openly advocated protecting the country from pillage and carrying out reform in the people's interests, and they opposed mutual confrontation and pigeonholing. The communist movement is growing too. Many people, comparing today's position with yesterday's, are saying that things were better under the Communists. Left-wing extremism is being seen on this basis. On the one hand there are right-wing radical extremists, and on the other hand there are left wingers. I think that in this situation the centrists must play their own positive role. And, in this connection, I support the vice president's efforts to unite and consolidate all progressive and democratic forces. We need national peace, not confrontation.

[Slavin] Are you sure that we have sufficient forces to oppose the executive's unconstitutional actions—after all (as Saturday showed), it is quite tough and even brazen in its actions?

[Khasbulatov] I think that we do have such forces and that we will be able to defend democracy and the Constitution and to effectively oppose neodictatorial and authoritarian trends. Nobody will succeed in dissolving representative organs of power and destroying the soviets.

Rutskoy Addresses Moscow City Soviet Meeting

Criticizes Handling of May Day 'Tragedy'

LD0806172093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1510 GMT on 8 June carries a five-minute recording of a speech made by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy at a meeting with Moscow City Soviet deputies on 8 June; according to the announcer, this meeting was held in place of a scheduled news conference due to have been held at the Moscow City Soviet today on the course of privatization in Moscow.

Referring to the May Day disturbances in Moscow, Rutskoy says that an investigation into these events ought to have been held before the decision to bring deputy Anpilov to book. "We are somehow so categorical—since Anpilov did take part in these events, it means he is guilty and must be brought to book forthwith and so on," Rutskoy says, adding that "we have already lived like that" and there is no point in continuing to live like that.

It is clear, Rutskoy continues, that both sides were guilty; the 9 May festivities showed that thanks to the lifting of

the oppressive police presence, the demonstration passed off normally. If Leninskiy Prospekt had not been blocked off, people would have reached the Lenin Hills and that would be that. "We create difficulties for ourselves and then we start to actively fight against them," Rutskoy adds. He continues: "The legal system, accountability, morality, campaigns of one kind or another to combat corruption, or crime—all this depends upon the top person, the top person where the state is concerned. The position the state's top person takes with regard to the system, the way he sees the structure of society and the economic, social, and political relationships influences processes in this area. They can proceed fast, or slowly. They can yield results which, for the most part, are positive; or they can proceed at a somewhat slower pace and have, for the most part, negative results. That is why there is nothing to be surprised at here. We Russians have become accustomed in our mind-set to the fact that there exists some kind of a tsar, so to speak, in the guise, let us say, of the general secretary of the CPSU or the Supreme Soviet chairman or the president—and whatever he says, goes.

"In this context we have an identical situation at present. If we speak of a democratic, law-governed state, if we make this our banner, then who on earth has the right, what official has the right to use the law to persecute any personality or to prevent such a personality from voicing his views on behalf of a collective or in his capacity as an individual?"

Rutskoy says that the May Day tragedy was a lesson in the errors of the past two years, "the first symptom not so much of the law not being obeyed, as the first symptom of, as it were, certain strata in society embarking upon physical resistance." The investigation of this must be lawful, Rutskoy says, adding that he is indignant that 111 OMON [special purpose militia detachment] and militia functionaries were awarded medals, mostly for bravery.

Skeptical Over New Constitution

LD0806220993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2011 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Report from Moscow City Soviet by correspondent Sergey Omelchenko, including recordings of remarks by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Omelchenko] If the constitution whose draft is now being examined by the Constitutional Conference is fleshed out even with the most progressive articles, but, just as the current one, lacks an effective mechanism for carrying it out, then the situation in the country will not improve. This is the thought which Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy today instilled in the Moscow City Soviet deputies, who assembled in far greater numbers than usual for a session in the Marble Hall.

[Rutskoy] What will change as a result of the adoption of this constitution? I will tell you what will change. Did they not already drag out Slobodkin by his arms and legs? Then Zheleznyak [sailor who dismissed the Constitutional Assembly in 1918] will come and everyone will be dragged out without exception.

[Omelchenko] Aleksandr Rutskoy called for the principles of sovereignty of the people to be preserved, claiming that the presidential option of a bicameral parliament will not ensure a democratic system, and that the soviets as a form of sovereignty of the people, are perfectly suitable, in a modernized form.

On a whole range of issues the vice president's position agreed with Khasbulatov's views, in particular on the need for equal rights for all subjects of the Federation.

At the meeting in the Moscow City Soviet, Rutskoy also explained to the deputies his failure in realizing the program for the countryside and the succession of obstacles and impediments. He was tempestuously applauded when he got on to his favorite theme of crime and corruption.

[Rutskoy] As long as we are not principled in upholding the law, in upholding rights, we will resolve absolutely nothing.

[Omelchenko] Rutskoy tried to persuade people that arbitrariness can be overcome neither tomorrow, nor today, but in an hour. It is sufficient for the president to lift the phone and say that this must be the last time that you do this.

It is a pity that everything is not all that simple.

Abulatipov Statement on Political Crisis

LD0806184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1708 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—Boris Yeltsin and Ruslan Khasbulatov have differences in politics, but this should not result in a split in society, believes head of the Russian Parliament Council of Nationalities Ramazan Abdulatipov, who made a statement for the press here today.

Abdulatipov is currently outside Moscow on health reasons and cannot attend parliament meetings and the Constitutional Conference, the idea of whose holding he supports.

"I am sure the country now needs, more than ever, a policy aimed to achieve a mutually acceptable compromise and civil concord. In this connection, the participation in the Constitutional Conference of deputies of all levels, whose activities are directly linked to interests and hopes of all Russians, is extremely important," he said.

In Abdulatipov's opinion, "extreme forces, causing a clash between interests of specific politicians, parties,

and, sometimes, entire peoples, hamper well-considered and substantial approach to the search for a draft fundamental law to satisfy all the sides".

He stressed "concord our society needs so much is possible only through the account and harmonization of interests of all layers, all peoples, all Russian regions".

Ambartsumov Opinion on Foreign Ministry Policy

LD0806201493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1900 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—A task of the Russian Parliament Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations is cooperation with the Russian Foreign Ministry, which does not exclude criticism of the ministry on the part of the committee, committee head Yevgeniy Ambartsumov told a news conference here today.

Despite the remaining "considerable differences" between the committee and the Foreign Ministry on relations between Russia and former Soviet republics and the introduction of international sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, one should admit the stand of the Foreign Ministry has been undergoing "positive, correct" changes.

This is proved by the recent initiatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry to settle the situation in former Yugoslavia, as well as its "recent substantial deviation" from "excessive pro-Americanism" in foreign policy. "This drawback will soon be gone, although problems remain," stressed Ambartsumov.

As an example of such problems, the deputy cited the Russian-U.S. agreement on assistance to Russia in storage, transportation and elimination of nuclear weapons, a number of whose provisions "provoke fears of some deputies and give grounds to consider the agreement as violating Russian sovereignty".

Asked on the state and prospects for the development of Russian- Ukrainian relations, Ambartsumov said "Russia made a mistake" when concluding the bilateral treaty, which lead to the aggravation of problems of the Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet.

"Still, now we should understand good relations with Ukraine are better even than the Crimea", noted the official.

As for Ukraine's attempts to change its stand on the non-nuclear status, Ambartsumov said "it is inconvenient for Russia to press on its neighbour," since it may be accused of recurrences of "imperial" thinking. "I believe it is primarily the task of the United States as a nuclear super-power, and a task of the international community," stressed the committee head.

Journalists Denounce Moves To Control Media

LD0806152693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1348 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—"The fierce struggle for the right to control the mass media is gaining momentum", states the declaration passed by the 3rd congress of journalists, which ended its work here on Tuesday [8 June].

"The spirit and letter of Russia's law on the mass media are being widely defied, and the law itself, while declaring the freedom of the press, proved helpless in guaranteeing this freedom under market conditions", the declaration goes on to say. "So far no changes have been made to the existing legislation in order to bring it in line with this law, nor has been developed a reasonable mechanism of state protectionism in relation to the press".

The document stresses that Russian journalists are not disunited. They announce their firm resoluteness to pool their efforts for upholding the freedom of speech and the right of citizens to reliable information.

Media Committee Deputy Chairman on Poltaranin

LD0806171593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1110 GMT on 8 Jun broadcasts a 17-minute studio interview with Viktor Alekseyevich Yugin, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Committee for the Mass Media, by Radio Parliament's correspondent Tatyana Ivanova, about the latest rumors surrounding Mikhail Poltoranin, the state of the media in general, and the position of journalists.

Yugin begins by saying: "I can say that today the mass media are far stronger and more frightening in their activities and influence more people than the former Committee for State Security [KGB] and the present Ministry of Security, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Defense, and so on and so forth. They are now the main weapon possessed by those who engage in lies and, incidentally, in hoodwinking the people—as with these privatization vouchers, to take a specific example."

He challenges the "Vesti" report yesterday that the majority of the Supreme Soviet Presidium had condemned Khasbulatov's behavior at the Constitutional Conference. He claims that only eight of the 28 members of the Presidium criticized the chairman which hardly constitutes condemnation.

On the subject of Poltoranin, Yugin says: "In my view, one can no longer believe Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin. He has already promised us much and has had a great deal to say. He has accused many people of all the sins under the sun."

Regarding today's ITAR-TASS report on the planned creation of a Federal Information Corporation, Yugin says that Poltoranin's Federal Information Center has long been preparing the documents for such a corporation that will own property worth approximately 2 billion rubles [R]. "If this corporation comes into being and, of course, once again it will be headed by Poltoranin, then it will represent a total monopolization, the like of which has never been seen in any country, now or at any other time."

Yugin claims that contrary to Poltoranin's promises, the Federal Information Center has interfered in the mass media's activity and adds: "It will be the same when this corporation is set up. It looks rather like the corporations that were set up under Yuriy Petrov [former head of Yeltsin staff] and under former Minister of Economy Nechayev, namely the Russian House [Rossiyskiy Dom]. This is just the same. On the one hand this is a pooling of capital, on the other hand it is the influencing of people's minds and thirdly, it is directed at one thing; at supporting all those reforms or anti-reforms—I call them anti-reforms—that are being implemented by the government and especially by the presidential structure."

With regard to the abolition of the St. Petersburg Television and Radio Company and the subsequent setting up of the St. Petersburg Channel, Yugin says: "It transpires that there was one reason for this. One leader needed to be removed and replaced by other more obedient and devoted worshipers of the well-known television journalist Bella Kurkova."

Yugin asks why the state needs four state television channels which it cannot even support. He suggests: "Is it not time to organize joint stock companies, not in the way Mr. Poltoranin is organizing them, but in a totally different, legal manner, the way other types of joint stock company in other sectors are created. This will allow television and radio groups to demonstrate their work." If this is done, he claims, journalists will be truly independent and not subordinate to existing power structures.

Military Issues

Defense Minister Grachev Interviewed

MK0806130093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 pp 1, 5

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, by Aleksandr Nadzharov under "Problem" rubric: "Russian Army. New Times"—date, place not given]

[Text] According to Army General Pavel Grachev, last spring our Army had no strength to start or conduct military operations if only because it consisted of second strategic echelon troops. In other words, it was undermanned and underarmed. The best units together with the most advanced hardware and highly qualified officer cadre found themselves abroad, even if in the neighboring states—in Ukraine, the Baltics, and the Transcaucasus.

"This is not a real misfortune yet, as they say," Pavel Grachev continues. "Far worse was the psychological time pressure under which we found ourselves. The people did not understand what had happened and how to conduct themselves. Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, for a certain period control of military units was lost. With respect to military and technical provisions, the troops were for the most part equipped with outdated hardware and armaments. One should also add here tens of thousands of homeless families and the extremely low levels of money allowances. Moreover, one must not pass over in silence direct acts of harassment and humiliation of the Army, and corruption and hazing of conscripts that were rife in the Army at the time. It reached a point when for a certain time we forbade military servicemen to appear on Moscow streets in uniform."

[Nadzharov] In a word, the Army was demoralized, [illegible]orly armed, and the enemy" could have easily [illegible]ated an [illegible]nquered Russia?

[Grachev] It could have, but our borders remained intact, which showed yet again: The world has changed and the former strategic guidelines far from fully correspond to the last decade of the 20th century.

[Nadzharov] Nonetheless, the situation can change again and moreover, any country, especially a great power—and Russia still continues to be regarded as one by the entire world—cannot exist without a strong army.

[Grachev] This is an axiom. This is exactly why we began to build a new army. Within the shortest possible time span new directorates for branches of the Armed Forces were created, as well as military district commands, various large strategic formations, and combined units. Fairly quickly we managed to restore the single troop control system. At the same time combat training plans were revised.

[Nadzharov] And what about the strategic nuclear forces?

[Grachev] Plans for their use were completely revised. Just as, incidentally, action plans for regular ground troops, and also in combination with other combined units. Of course, this did not happen overnight. Especially given that we had to take stock of what we had actually inherited, to restore military discipline, which had seriously loosened, and stop pilfering of army property.

[Nadzharov] Indeed, at the beginning of last year the Army was literally riddled with corruption—a point which, in my opinion, was rightly made recently in the Supreme Soviet by Aleksandr Rutskoy.

[Grachev] Yes, except that he "diplomatically" did not mention the fact that it was the Army itself that had

discovered and cut short all these instances—moreover, long before his sensational exposures. Many papers were writing about it then. Yet far less attention was being given to the key aspect of the problem: The mistakes, to put it mildly, on the part of the supreme state structures, which, while providing the officers with miserly allowances, licensed them to trade in literally everything. Therefore some commanders within one to two months had turned from educators and leaders into some kind of dilettante traders.

[Nadzharov] At the time many deputies were literally speculating and cashing in on those really painful problems. Especially, strange as it seems, former military personnel.

[Grachev] There is nothing surprising about this. After all, these people prior to August 1991 were under the protection of the supreme leadership of the former Soviet Union. It was thanks to them that they actually became deputies. And so their benefactors found themselves out of business; new people had come around and a "collective revelation" occurred—it appeared that everything in the army was not as they thought it should be. Well, may God judge them. As far as I am concerned, this year has passed in incessant day-to-day work and visits to military units.

[Nadzharov] Would it be possible to talk about any results at this stage?

[Grachev] I think so, yes, although much still remains to be done. Nonetheless, the main thing has been accomplished: The foundation for the new Russian Army has been built. And a very solid foundation. Above all, now we have conceptual guidelines on whose basis it would be possible to move further in building new Russian armed forces, with which we shall enter the 21st century.

[Nadzharov] Are you talking about the new Russian military doctrine?

[Grachev] And do you know anything about an old doctrine? Incidentally, Russia has never had one. A military doctrine has been developed for the first time in the history of our state.

[Nadzharov] Could you then please elaborate on it in more detail?

[Grachev] Sure. The Russian military doctrine consists of three parts—the military-political, the military proper, and the military-technical. In general terms, it deals with who should be considered a potential enemy, which units the Russian Army should comprise, and how it should be armed.

[Nadzharov] And who is our enemy now? I hope not "world imperialism," which for some reason or other has failed to take advantage of the opportunities that opened up at the beginning of last year?

[Grachev] No, certainly not, although different forces exist in the militarist circles of even those states that are friendly toward us. Here I would like to mention terrorism, which is a source of concern for the entire world, as well as nationalism and religious animosity. I am afraid that mankind will not be able to part with this legacy of the past as quickly as it would like to.

[Nadzharov] And yet you believe that the main thing has happened—the Russian man and officer now know what they should do, who their enemy is, and how to fight him.

[Grachev] You are running somewhat ahead. The military doctrine has not as yet been approved by our parliament, but only discussed in the Security Council. And referred for discussion to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's committees. I hope that it will be adopted some time in June.

[Nadzharov] Yes, let us hope so. But if we could come back to the results of the first year of the Russian Army's existence....

[Grachev] Then the most important aspects should be singled out. These, in my opinion, are not even the achievements in building our Armed Forces, but a crucial psychological change in the mood of the officer corps.

[Nadzharov] At the beginning of last year the mood—it should be stated bluntly—was that of depression.

[Grachev] You should place yourself in a field officer's shoes. His tasks are unclear; his family has no apartment of its own and is forced to move from one place to another—moreover there is no money to pay the rent. What if—God forbid—the old times are back and investigations begin into what you have said prior to August 1991 and whether you may continue your service or must be moved to the reserves. With great effort this situation was rectified, and people came to be convinced that the past would not come back and that there would be no mass dismissals. Faith in the future of the new Russian Army especially fortified after the new year. This is corroborated by, among other things, my trips to military districts and my meetings, primarily with junior officers. People indeed have come to trust us; they have become revitalized morally and again devoted themselves to their service. Honestly, I am really overjoyed when I arrive at a military unit and even with its personnel being undermanned, the people in it have managed to unite. Officer crews hold battalion, regimental, and divisional training exercises, and wonderful ones at that: They shoot well, and skillfully drive combat vehicles. Operational work is proceeding smoothly, including decisionmaking, task setting, organizing combined operations, and so forth. Briefly, we are now seeing normal combat training. It is not easy to start everything from scratch. This was also strongly hampered by the "passion" for commercial operations, but even before that no one had actually engaged in real combat training in the Army—since about 1988.

[Nadzharov] And what about the performance of the new Defense Ministry leadership?

[Grachev] Analysis shows that we have achieved what we planned to do by the beginning of this year. I mean the creation of new troop formations, units, and subdivisions in the military districts of primary strategic importance. These are the Moscow, the North Caucasian, and the Far Eastern districts and the Northern and Pacific Fleets. Now I can say with confidence that in areas where in the past only a second strategic defense echelon existed, combat operations are ready to be conducted. Especially encouraging is the state of things in the North Caucasian district.

[Nadzharov] Something else about combat training. The entire world, as is known, is now being equipped with new generation weapons—super-accurate weapons. Moreover, new combined units are being formed....

[Grachev] These are interbranch formations, in particular mobile forces, about which I have long been dreaming. Life is prompting us toward this. Obviously, Russia does not have the resources to keep an armed border guard patrol under each bush along our borders, which are the longest in the world. It is only combined rapid reaction units that can respond to our needs here—I am not even talking about the hot spots.

[Nadzharov] Something of the airborne-ground-naval type?

[Grachev] Why not? This is essentially how airborne assault units operate, and I commanded them not so long ago. Add here the professionals that now are joining the Army, and you will understand: The future is with such military units. Until mid-1994 they will be formed by the military districts. By mid-1995 troop formations will be created. Therefore, in two years we will have powerful mobile forces.

[Nadzharov] And what is the situation in the social sphere—the physical aspects of army life, as it were?

[Grachev] I give my word of honor that I have been working to bring about a crucial change for the better in this sphere no less hard, and at one time even harder than in the sphere of combat training. I am not the one, however, to judge the results. But you can see that with assistance from the president, the government, and also the Supreme Soviet very much has been accomplished within this year. In particular all the legislative acts that we need have been adopted.

[Nadzharov] And do they satisfy you completely?

[Grachev] Not quite. In particular, I mean the obvious injustice in the drafting procedures—a division into "blacks" and "whites." I am convinced that until the Army has become fully professional, everybody must do his military service. The main thing, however, has already been accomplished: The requisite laws have been adopted, and the people know these laws, just as they know their rights and duties.

[Nadzharov] But, as they say, one cannot keep himself going with the law alone.

[Grachev] Are you referring to the servicemen's financial situation? Indeed, this was an acute issue prior to 1992, especially in the first half of that year. Indeed, officers, even generals—and I am not even talking about warrant officers, conscripts, and NCO's—were living below the poverty line. Now they are finally being paid enough to keep not only themselves, but also their families. And this refers not only to buying foodstuffs. There is also enough money to buy clothes and consumer goods. At least, when I recently visited the Transbaykal and the Siberian districts, I asked young officers whether it was necessary to raise their salaries further. They said that for the time being they were quite sufficient.

[Nadzharov] And will they be sufficient later, when the Army begins to move over to a paid professional basis?

[Grachev] They are sufficient for the time being. The military contract enrollment system has been brought into operation. You know that this idea was opposed by the USSR Defense Ministry. It transpired that the difficulties involved were exaggerated, to put it mildly. For this year a target of 110,000 professional servicemen has been set for us. As of 7 May, already 70,000 were serving under contract. They came in the last few months, well before the salaries were raised. Now that a professional army private gets over 40,000, the influx has increased dramatically. Well, we will set up qualifying boards so that people are hired on a competitive basis.

[Nadzharov] What sort of impact, in your opinion, does the presence of professionals have on combat training?

[Grachev] A very substantial one. They not only have excellent service records. They help young soldiers in servicing and maintaining the equipment and in operating special installations. Incidentally, thanks to this, the incidence of crime has fallen, and army discipline has generally consolidated. The number of offenses in the Army, especially those involving deaths, has fallen by 40 percent compared with the same time last year. Much of the credit for this belongs to the commanders. A substantial role has been played by adults who have come to serve under contract.

[Nadzharov] Look, if professionals are serving so well, perhaps it might be a good idea to reduce the draft or at least grant more draft deferrals?

[Grachev] I am categorically against any unwarranted privileges and deferrals. The country's defense needs, and plain fairness, dictate that all young men of draft age must serve in the Army. It is another matter that with the advent of professionals the conscription term in the Army could be substantially reduced. The Defense Ministry is shortly going to ask the government and the Supreme Soviet to approve a law whereby the period of conscription in the new Russian Army should not exceed one year. I [illegible]d there are enough professions, this [illegible]erm should [illegible]e sufficient. But then everybody up to

age 25 must serve in the Army. Furthermore, military departments in higher educational establishments would need to be closed. At least the greater part of them. We must face the truth: These departments are certainly not preparing real officers.

[Nadzharov] Pavel Sergeyevich, presumably every officer knows today that there is no more acute problem than the housing problem. I recently visited Kaliningrad Oblast. Troops withdrawn from the Baltic states and from Germany are being moved here. The officers' families are creating a sort of communal apartments even aboard military hydrographic vessels.

[Grachev] I know that the housing situation is very, very difficult. And I simply cannot bring myself to talk about any outstanding success stories here. Yet I would like to point out that the Army has expanded its housing construction in the past year by two to six times. Nonetheless, I shall state quite straightforwardly that given the withdrawal of troops to Russia's territory, this problem will not be resolved by early 1996. It could even get worse. A few days ago I met with ex-servicemen who fought in Afghanistan. None of them asked for money. They all asked for assistance to get housing.

[Nadzharov] But you have just said that the Army is carrying out extensive housing construction projects?

[Grachev] Even so, we cannot increase the volume of construction any further. In the near future, military construction units are to be abolished. This means that we would have to undertake our construction projects only by hiring contractors, and this means money, money, money.

[Nadzharov] Wait a minute: Why should construction battalions be abolished then?

[Grachev] The Army is not abolishing them. Rather they will apparently die out by themselves. Not, however, without assistance from the Supreme Soviet, where this issue is constantly debated. I am not even talking about the soldiers' mothers' movement that rose on the wave of exposures two to three years ago. Together with certain political parties they are literally bombarding authorities at all levels with letters to the effect that construction battalions are prisons, and so forth.

[Nadzharov] But unfortunately, these women do have some cause for concern....

[Grachev] Apparently so. Incidentally, I remember the days when people actually wanted to join construction battalions in order to earn decent money. But then something strange happened. Construction soldiers began to have the cost of their meals, clothes, and many other things deducted from their wages. As a result, by the end of his service term a member of a construction battalion actually owed his unit. We have forbidden all these practices, and today a military construction worker winds up his service term quite a well-off person, with a substantial indexed bank account and moreover, a highly paid trade.

[Nadzharov] By the way, on the subject of economic activity. It is an open secret that millions of people in this country have been living off military orders. What is going on today within the hitherto "closed cities" that you must know just as well as I do.

[Grachev] This is a very serious problem, which must be addressed not at the army level but at the state level. A statewide system of orders for new weapons and equipment is required—since by now the links between military orders, arms production, and financing have been lost. Apparently the Defense Ministry is in a better position here since, having defined a military-technical policy, we now have prototype development plans for all types of armaments. We could also place clear-cut orders. The whole problem is finances; no money—no orders. Meanwhile people are waiting, for example in our northern regions, where two state-of-the-art submarine producing plants are operating at a mere third of their capacity. Workers and engineers with unique qualifications are earning a trifling 15,000 to 20,000 rubles a month. They are showing patience and they are not leaving. At least for the time being.

[Nadzharov] What is to be done? The Army and the Navy are being downsized, as is military production. Maybe this is something we must go through. Should people be tormented, deceived by unfulfillable hopes?

[Grachev] Nothing of the kind. A nuclear submarine fleet is the future of the Armed Forces. The number of tanks and guns will be reduced, as well as infantry, but a modern navy is a totally different thing. The governments of all developed countries understand this very well.

[Nadzharov] How is your relationship shaping up with the president and the parliament chairman?

[Grachev] I have been summoned to the Supreme Soviet a couple of times.

I had to repeat what I have been saying all along: Leave the Army out of political squabbles. As for the president, we are in constant contact. Every day from 1000 to 1015 I brief him on the situation in the Army, on incidents, exercises, and so forth. Furthermore, every month I submit to him a full analytical report on the state of affairs.

[Nadzharov] You often say that the Army is outside politics. But what then about its involvement in resolving the numerous ethnic conflicts? Obviously, some definite position would have to be taken here.

[Grachev] I would put it differently: Participation in peacekeeping operations is precisely the Army's policy. The Army is outside politics—this means that it does

belong to any particular political movement or party. We are only implementing the political decisions of our leadership.

[Nadzharov] As is known, state policy is formulated by parliament. Think for a moment about our Supreme Soviet and tell me, please, what would happen if it were to pass a decision with which you could not agree? For example, start another Afghanistan or issue orders to bomb Yugoslavia. What then—again tanks in Moscow streets?

[Grachev] No, under no circumstances. I can express my disagreement by various methods. Above all, I would try to get my point of view across, to use persuasion. If this does not help, I could resign. In any event, I would not execute any reckless, adventurist decision, no matter from which person they might come. I would resign.

[Nadzharov] It seems that politics cannot be entirely excluded after all. In this connection, here is another question. A considerable part of strategic nuclear forces are now located outside Russia—in sovereign Ukraine. That country now pledges to remove the nuclear weapons from its territory; and now makes, let us say, substantial qualifications to these statements. What do you think is the reason here?

[Grachev] In its practical steps—I stress, practical steps—the present Ukrainian leadership is aspiring to get nuclear weapons, without particularly publicizing its intention. There is no doubt about this. I have made a number of statements. Our government has come out with statements and they were parried. In the meantime the situation with the security of these weapons on Ukraine's territory is getting worse. Because we cannot replace components and parts and perform maintenance in a timely manner, designer supervision by our scientists over the condition of the nuclear warheads that they developed is impossible. To sum up, the problem does exist, and is an extremely serious one at that.

[Nadzharov] Presumably it is also connected to a certain extent with changes in the arms balance. Let us move over from nuclear to conventional weapons, and recall your trip to the United Arab Emirates to an international arms fair. At that time, two months ago, in an interview you stated with satisfaction that accord was reached on selling advanced equipment produced by Russian military plants worth approximately $11 billion. Some time passed and it transpired that in reality things are not as smooth as they are on paper.... What happened?

[Grachev] Yes, indeed, we had the most hopeful plans. Both us and leaders of the Persian Gulf countries. Life once again, however, showed the force of inertia within our bureaucratic structures that were entrusted to sell military hardware. I mean the government committee on defense matters and the leadership of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry. They monopolized this sphere and would not let the Defense Ministry near. Although the whole world is using a totally different approach here—not the Soviet scheme. I will not go into details. I will only say this: The majority of accords on selling Russian equipment and weapons have collapsed. And they have collapsed for purely bureaucratic, if not selfish, reasons. We offered quite a few world-class innovations at the fair which literally stunned the traditional U.S. and British suppliers. For example, the best tank in the world, which by all characteristics surpasses any foreign counterparts.

[Nadzharov] Why did that happen?

[Grachev] The old-style bureaucrats, who for decades have monopolized the arms trade business, have grown accustomed to living off their trips abroad. When they learned about our success, they found ways to approach the president and the prime minister. They went out of their way to prove that they would do a better job of it. Everything proved to be a lie. Our bureaucratic offices do not know how to move quickly. Or they do not want to. Why? This is a question, as they say, for the relevant authorities.

[Nadzharov] Should we therefore consider the Persian Gulf market finally lost?

[Grachev] Not really. Recently my deputy was again invited to Abu Dhabi for further talks. Which proves one again: The Arab sheikhs value Russian weapons and prefer to do business with competent specialists. He was told there in plain language: The Persian Gulf countries do not want to deal with any other body except the Russian Defense Ministry. Interestingly, our defense enterprise directors also think so. Well, we shall try to break this wall.

[Nadzharov] Pavel Sergeyevich, I think that the difficulties you have been talking about are nonetheless of a temporary character. The Russian Army will eventually have the most advanced weapons, and its social problems will be resolved or at least they will be substantially alleviated in the next three to four years. But I do not think that this is the most important thing. Tell me, can the Russian Army today defend our people, even though I cannot imagine who would want to fight us? And one final question. About what kind of Army are you dreaming?

[Grachev] Today—and I am saying this with a full sense of responsibility—the Russian Armed Forces are combat-ready, under full control, and fit to curb any aggression. Incidentally, the fact that no aggression is expected today is not least owing to the rising strength of our Army. As to what our Army should be, I think that it should be not very large, fully professional, excellently equipped with highly accurate and standardized weapons, highly mobile, capable of momentarily transferring by air or by railway combat formations capable within minutes of reversing the situation in their favor. Something like reinforced airborne troops consisting of intelligent, efficient, experienced men and officers, qualified in many military specialties. I hope that Russia will have such an army well before the end of the century.

Grachev: Quota for Contract Personnel Fulfilled

LD0906090993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The supply of personnel for the Russian Federation Armed Forces by soldiers and sergeants serving on a contract basis has been completed this year. There are 110,000 serving on this basis. This was stated today by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who spoke at an operative training course for the Russian Federation Armed Forces command.

Economic Issues

Fedorov Proposes Abolition of Committee on Prices

PM0806132393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Conflict" rubric: "State Committee for Prices May Be Abolished"]

[Text] A report presented by Lira Rozenova, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Prices Policy, provoked a hail of questions at the last session of the Russian Council of Ministers Presidium. In particular she proposed to introduce a special, fixed exchange rate for the ruble against the dollar—150-200 rubles to one U.S. dollar—and to strengthen tax policy in order to financially support the coal industry and agriculture. Lira Rozenova also cited examples suggesting an artificial growth of inflation.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays called the report not even yesterday's report, but the day before's.

Anatoliy Chubays was supported by Vice Premier Boris Fedorov. In particular, he said that the growth of monopoly prices—as shown by the experience of countries that have successfully coped with this task—can be realistically restricted only by developing internal competition and the regulated attraction of foreign competition, but that direct state regulation would put enterprises in the power of functionaries and not facilitate the curbing of inflation.

In conclusion Boris Fedorov proposed to abolish the Committee for Prices Policy as an independent structure and bring it into the structure of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of the Economy as an administration.

Chernomyrdin Directive on Additional Labor for Harvest

PM0806124193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Yelena Yakovleva report: "Countryside Trying To Get By Without Help From the City During the Harvest"]

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a directive instructing organs of executive power at all levels to enlist the able-bodied population of cities and students at various educational institutions to organize the harvest and procure feed.

The first question that usually arises following directives of this sort is this: Are we talking about another obligation, a kolkhoz corvee to bring in the potato harvest masquerading as patronage assistance? However, the premier has answered this question by explaining in the directive that the enlistment of the city population for harvest and feed procurement work is only possible on mutually advantageous contractual terms.

Aleksandr Kalinin, chief of the Agro-Industrial Complex Department in the Russian Government apparatus, explained the situation as follows:

"Last year nobody complained about scandalous bureaucracy, nobody protested about enlisting people for haymaking and harvesting. The fact is that over the last two-three years the former compulsory 'patronage ties' have been placed on a normal economic footing. We have encountered another problem: The city is offering its services and the countryside is refusing them. Last year the Defense Ministry complained to Vice President A. Rutskoy: 'Why are our motor transport battalions not being ordered?' They got the reply: 'Too expensive.' When the cost of patronage labor became too high (or realistic, to be more precise), many agricultural enterprises—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, partnerships, and joint-stock companies—started turning down assistance from the city. They are getting by on their own and enlisting pensioners who do not need to be fed or housed; and it is possible to settle up with the inhabitants of nearby villages by 'payment in kind'."

But if a crisis develops as a result of bad weather or natural disasters, the executive powers could and should resort to a tough administrative policy.

But sometimes additional vehicles are needed for the harvest and it is hard for a kolkhoz or sovkhoz to settle up for these. Under the Chernomyrdin directive, the Finance Ministry should allocate funds and reimburse transportation and other enterprises the expenses they incur in driving vehicles to the harvest location.

Joint Ventures Protest Decision To Stop Oil Export

MK0906092293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 1

[Andrey Vaganov commentary under "Industry" rubric: "Joint Ventures Forbidden To Produce Oil? Foreign Companies Contemplate Scaling Down Their Activities in Russia"]

[Text] As of 1 June the Russian Transneft pipeline transport company has stopped the export of oil extracted and processed by joint ventures. This measure

comes in direct conflict with the Russian laws "On Foreign Investments" and "On Competition and Limitation of Monopoly Activity on Commodity Markets." The fact is that joint venture activity, including in the oil sector, is regulated in the Russian Federation on the basis of Article 25 of the law "On Foreign Investments" whereby joint ventures with more than a 30-percent share of foreign capital in their statutory fund enjoy the right to export their entire output.

Transneft's decision affects over 40 joint ventures located on Russian territory which, using advanced technology, are engaged in the development of deposits that are hard to access and which also undertake environmental protection measures. Valeriy Azamatov, executive director of the joint venture Tatoylgaz, in this connection described the statement that the quota established for the export of oil by the joint ventures has allegedly been fully used, as far-fetched: "No one has ever told us about any oil quotas for joint ventures. All the requisite documents are processed in time and according to the rules established by, incidentally, the Ministry of Fuel and Energy."

Foreign participants in Russian joint ventures are particularly concerned by the fact that this restrictive practice has been used on orders from state bodies—the Economy Ministry and the Fuel and Energy Ministry of the Russian Federation—without any explanation of the reasons and without any prior notice. As a result, in June alone some 1.2 million tonnes of oil will not be produced. Moreover, according to Valeriy Azamatov, one of the largest oil companies—the French Totale—is seriously considering the possibility of scaling down all its joint ventures in Tatarstan.

The economic, social, and moral damage to Russia in this situation is obvious. However, Lev Vaynberg, president of the Association of Joint Ventures, International Associations and Organizations (ASP MOO), told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that what was involved was apparently not just bureaucratic folly, but a carefully planned political action.

"The initiator of the ongoing events should be sought not even in the Fuel and Energy Ministry—it is a purely executive ministry—but in the Economy Ministry. In my opinion, this is an obvious act of economic subversion. I think that standing behind this is a political demarche by the new minister, Oleg Lobov. He is dreaming about resurrecting the defunct State Planning Agency with all the ensuing consequences. If this is so, then this is the worst possible policy option—struggle for a great Russia without any joint ventures. Each step in this direction spells irreparable misfortune for the country."

Foreign participants in joint ventures have already asked the governments of their countries to protect their interests. Joint ventures have filed suits against Transneft and the Russian Federation Fuel and Energy Ministry with the State Arbitration bodies. The ASP MOO board has sent a letter to V.S. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers—the government of the Russian Federation—asking him to rescind the "unwarranted and illegal decisions and to ensure equality of rights arising from Russian laws for all participants in foreign economic activity."

Gaydar Comments on Voucher Prices

LD0806205593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0035 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] What has been happening to vouchers over the past few days? The price of vouchers has markedly increased. Yegor Gaydar comments on this situation.

[Begin Gaydar recording] The issue of the price of vouchers is an extremely politicized one. If you look, let's say, at the dynamics of the exchange rate, it is almost entirely determined by exclusively economic considerations. If you follow the dynamics of the money supply, you will see that, on their own, ordinary fluctuations of the political situation do not greatly affect the rate of inflation and the exchange rate. When monetary and budget policy change, the rate changes. Thus, they don't change just by one person making some statement or other.

As far as the price of vouchers is concerned, it is much more politicized. In this connection, you will recall the sharp increase in voucher prices at the end of November and beginning of December, when it seemed that the government would stand its ground, and the sharp fall in the price of vouchers immediately after the government's resignation. In this connection, from a purely political point of view, we expected this reaction to the success of the referendum. After the referendum, when it became clear that there was a chance at least that mass privatization would be halted, prices fell sharply.

The second point, which of course is starting to influence the voucher price to some extent, is a purely economic consideration and is linked to the fact that, at long last, apart from purely speculative transactions where all attention was focused on the difference in prices and on the whole game of increasing and decreasing voucher prices—incidentally, I am deeply convinced that, to a certain extent, the interests of a game of speculation for increasing and decreasing the voucher prices lay behind the discussions in the Supreme Soviet about the fourth option in January and March, in the first instance [sentence as heard]. So now, all this is being supported by a genuine process, which has started, of putting packages of shares on the market, including packages of shares from interesting enterprises. We are already seeing clashes, powerful clashes, in the struggle for the controlling package of shares of many enterprises. This is the second factor, purely economic, which is gradually affecting the price. [end recording]

Food, Gasoline Prices Increase at Varying Rates

PM0806142193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

["Prices" report by Gennadiy Bortsov of the Russian State Committee for Statistics: "Prices of Vegetables Rising More Quickly"]

[Text] In the last week of May food prices increased by 4.7 percent on average: by 3.9 percent in stores and by 8.3 percent in city markets. Vegetables (8.5 percent) and meat products (5.8 percent) showed the biggest increases; butter (1.2 percent) and dairy products (1.8 percent) showed the smallest.

There is pretty extensive trade in early vegetables and greens in markets in the major industrial centers at the moment, but vendors continue to keep prices high. So the prices of vegetable products rose more quickly in May as a whole (by 40 percent) than the prices of other types of food, including vegetables sold in city markets (by 70 percent). For example, in Yekaterinburg on 1 June new fresh cabbage cost 2,000 rubles [R], in Petrozavodsk onions were R600, and in Irkutsk garlic was R4,500.

Among Russia's economic regions the biggest price increases were in the Far East (38 percent) and North (23 percent) and the smallest were in the Northwest (16.7 percent) and Urals (17.6 percent) regions.

The average price of beef in Russia reached R818 in stores and R1,463 in city markets; pork was R937 and R1,552 respectively, and poultry was R700 and R1,194 per kilogram. The highest beef prices were in markets in Moscow and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy—R3,620 and R2,800; milk was selling at R507 in Moscow and R450 in Vladivostok. But milk cost R43 in the market in Novyy Oskol, R55 in Arzamas, and R60 per liter in Orel.

Gasoline supplied for private motor vehicles took the prize for the biggest price increase last week. The liberalization of retail prices of petroleum products, for which the radicals have been calling for so long, has occurred. Over the week the price rose by 30 percent and the average for Russia was R60.2 per liter. The biggest increases were in Yakutsk (from R30 to R102), St. Petersburg (R35.5 to R89), and Ulan-Ude (from R33 to R72). Although in a number of cities prices were unchanged on 1 June. In Ufa, Ishimbay, Neftekamsk, and Sterlitamak gasoline cost R42-44. In Maykop, Makhachkala, Nalchik, and Cherkessk prices also remained unchanged (R50-60). In some places the increase was small. In Severodvinsk, Novomoskovsk, Belgorod, and Tyumen prices increased by 10 percent. The most expensive gasoline was in Magadan and Yakutsk (R102-103), and the cheapest was in Prokopyevsk, Salekhard, Kemerovo, and Norilsk (R36-41).

Private Farmers Appeal to Yeltsin for Aid

LD0806210193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Russia's private farmers have decided to appeal directly to the president. As the AGROPRESS agency has reported, they have sent a letter to Boris Yeltsin. It contains a request for aid to peasants who are private landowners at the stage of becoming commodity producers. The appeal, signed by Vladimir Basmachnikov, president of the Association of Peasant Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives, points out that efforts to ignore the system of private farmers' self-determination are once again being stepped up in the activities of state and government bodies.

Agricultural Situation, Production Assessed

PM0806130593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Roundup of POSTFACTUM and INTERFAX reports: "The Peasant—Enemy of the People?"]

[Text] The enemies of the people are those who are proposing subsidies for agriculture. This was said by a representative of the entrepreneurs' side during the discussion of the question of protecting the agricultural commodity producers' economic interests at a session of the Russian tripartite commission for the regulation of social and labor relations.

"If the government has money to spare it would be better to invest one-third of it in the social sphere and two-thirds in the fuel and energy complex. The proceeds from the sale of energy sources would buy many more agricultural products than our agriculture would produce."

Russia has gone back to the early eighties in terms of the level of meat and egg production, and to the mid-sixties in terms of milk production. For that reason, and also because of the "disproportionate incomes of the majority of citizens and the prices explosion," consumption of meat and meat products fell by 14 percent in 1992 compared with 1991, and consumption of milk and dairy products fell by 15-16 percent, according to A. Zaveryukha, Russian vice premier in charge of the development of the agro-industrial complex.

Consumption of food products continues to fall this year. In the first quarter food production fell by 8-10 percent compared with the same period in 1992. As a result of the production decline in the agrarian sector, the government deputy chairman warned, "negative processes in the rural economy could acquire a negative character" and the Russian people "could be in for a hard time."

The annual rate of the production decline in agriculture is 20 percent. This was said at a session of the tripartite commission attended by representatives of the government, employers, and trade unions.

During the discussion of questions of the protection of agricultural commodity producers' economic interests, it was noted that wages in agriculture in 1991 were approximately 80 percent of wages in industry, and in 1993 this figure is 50 percent. Some 23-40 percent of farms producing feed and 69 percent of farms producing meat and dairy products are making a loss. Whereas profitability in trade is approaching 120 percent. The government believes that parity in the pricing of agricultural and industrial products must be established in the very near future. Commodity producers are insisting on the establishment of parity, while trade unions are demanding the retention of subsidies for the agoindustrial complex.

Five farmers from Pereslavl (Yaroslavl Oblast) have formed a kolkhoz.

Its official name is the Pereslavl "Korsakovo" Association and its five founders are peasants with land and agricultural equipment, who acquired the land six months ago. According to the farmers, they have learned from the experience of their predecessors and from their own experience that it is extremely difficult to succeed alone, on meager credits, so they decided to apply the idea of collectivization to current conditions.

Russian Government Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha noted at the all-Russian conference on measures to stabilize agro-industrial production and intensify the agrarian reform, that the chief task today is to halt the production decline in the public and private sectors by using administrative measures and combining them with economic forms of pressure.

Supreme Soviet

Proceedings of 9 Jun Parliament Session

LD0906083093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy from the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 9 Jun]

[Text] We have already announced this session [of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet] several times in the course of the Morning Panorama program because it is quite important and it is expected that a report by [Supreme Soviet Speaker] Ruslan Khasbulatov on the Supreme Soviet's participation in the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin will be heard at it, but various procedural matters relating to which additional issues to debate today and over the next few days have occupied the Supreme Soviet for a whole hour. Specifically, it was proposed that since a Congress of People's Deputies is not going to be held the four top ministers should be heard in the very near future on the plan for implementation of the economic reform. But this proposal did not gain the required number of votes.

Deputy (Zasukhin) raised the issue of the holding of closed, secret sessions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the fact that decisions made by the Presidium are subsequently being presented as decisions of the Supreme Soviet. He proposed that this situation be discussed but the deputies did not support his proposal either and this matter will not be examined.

It was decided that one of the next sessions of the Supreme Soviet, probably next week, should examine the issue of the Black Sea Fleet. As for the report by Khasbulatov, widely conflicting views were expressed in the hall. Deputy Nosovets, for example, called Khasbulatov's participation in the president's conference a provocative attempt to wreck the session and proposed that Khasbulatov should not be given the floor in the Supreme Soviet because he has taken virtually no part in the Constitutional Conference. It must be said that the deputies did not support him.

A proposal was made to make this session a closed one, for no recordings to be made at it, and no journalists to be allowed access. To begin with this proposal found support but later deputies returned to it, reviewed it, and voted in favor of a live relay of this session being broadcast on radio and television. However, this proposal was rejected but journalists have, nevertheless, remained in the hall and a video recording is being made of this session.

Ruslan Khasbulatov is now on the rostrum. He is beginning his report on the Supreme Soviet's participation in the president's Constitutional Conference and naturally we will be telling our listeners later about what happens next at the Supreme Soviet and about the report itself and its debate by the deputies.

Khasbulatov Addresses Session

LD0906094593 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on the Supreme Soviet session on 9 June]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Khasbulatov, who is giving his report right now, said people's deputies can play a further part in the Constitutional Conference only if the president accepts their terms, which are: First, a renunciation, which the president should publicly announce, of the tenet that democracy and the soviets are incompatible; also, one of the important principles is that all the submitted drafts—not just the so-called presidential one—should be examined at the Constitutional Conference.

Giving his report at the Supreme Soviet, Khasbulatov said, in part:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] It is in no way a coincidence that certain components of the Federation are already adopting decisions on protests to the congress, the Supreme Soviet, and the Constitutional Court and are drawing our attention to those provisions of the report which are constitutionally dubious. Now, why was

the parliament treated in such a demonstratively disrespectful manner? I think that this is due to a significant extent to the political inexperience or naivete of a number of deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, including Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, who have not realized the point of the game, a game with someone else's rules that has been forced upon them.

The fact of the matter is that an insidious idea has been planted: that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet has allegedly taken up a conservative stance, has come under the thumb of [word indistinct] forces and does not want any compromises, that the president will not cooperate with him, and that he should be met halfway, a progressive and innovative stance should be taken, and so on and so forth.

A two-fold task was examined. To prevent a supposedly inevitable split in the Supreme Soviet, Ryabov was either to force the chairman of the Supreme Soviet to trespass on the constitutional field and burn it [as heard], or indeed to take with him a significant portion of the deputies to the anticonstitutional field.

It goes without saying that these games are not for me, not for the majority of deputies, and are not new. In spite of a variety of conferences in the country and persuasive tactics—promises of jobs or apartments and so on—I have always thought and still think that people here are dedicated to their voters and to the fatherland. As for those who attempt during difficult times to sow discord regarding personal merits or faults, I simply pity them.

I have to say, esteemed colleagues, that if all of us here fulfilled our duty as deputies, as parliamentarians as we understand it, in accordance with constitutional obligations and legal obligations, I think that the situation on 5 June would not have arisen at all. Why do we not want to use....[pauses] For goodness sake, let's ask the questions: Why do we not want to use the historic opportunity we have to carry out genuinely democratic changes? Why are we trying to restore a dictatorship, only instead of a communist dictatorship, an anticommunist one?

After all, our traditional dictatorships based on force are all relative; they represent the flouting of the right to freedom of the individual, the persecution of dissenting views, fear of the truth, the use of falsehood as a means of political struggle, and the declaration of war against democracy and parliamentarism. Is this not beginning to show through today in a sufficiently visible form in our state practice, the political regime rapidly acquiring these traits? [end recording]

Lists Conditions for Conference

LD0906102293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0925 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jun—Ruslan Khasbulatov named his conditions today for the Supreme Soviet's participation in the Constitutional Conference:

—The president abandoning the premise that "the soviets and democracy are incompatible";

—Full participation by parliament and the Constitutional Commission in the conference;

—Consideration of all constitutional drafts;

—The conference should be consultative;

—The constitutional procedures for adoption of the basic law which are defined in the current Constitution and which are being tackled by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies must be observed.

Ruslan Khasbulatov spoke today at a joint session of the Supreme Soviet. He delivered a report on "Participation of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet in the Constitutional Conference convened by President Boris Yeltsin."

Criticizes Yeltsin's 5 Jun Report

LD0906123993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov spoke at today's session of the Russian parliament about the Supreme Soviet's participation at the Constitutional Conference convened by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Assessing the president's 5 June report at the Conference, Khasbulatov pointed out that it lacks—I am quoting—a single conceptual line. In the speaker's opinion, the report contains—another quote—copies of Western samples, without taking into account the country's geopolitical and multiethnic traditions.

Conference Amounts to 'Coup'

LD0906142993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By unidentified correspondent from the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At the Supreme Soviet today, before giving the floor to the speaker who wanted to make public his report on the first question of the agenda regarding the future participation of the Supreme Soviet in the constitutional conference, the chairman asked the journalists to leave the hall. He thus fulfilled the will of people's deputies who, at the proposal of Deputy Isakov, initially decided to hold the debate behind closed doors. Later, however, the parliamentarians came to their senses and, following another vote, decided not to keep their battles secret.

Ruslan Khasbualtov, who was not allowed to speak at the Constitutional Conference 5 June, expressed his

acute displeasure over the way he had been treated, over the report by President Yeltsin, and the draft constitution proposed by the latter.

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] We are not conducting this struggle for our own sake but for the sake of the genuinely democratic development of society and reforms in people's interests. They, jointly with the subjects of the Federation, must revise the work on the new constitution. As to the possible attempts to resolve this issue independently from parliament, we must probably make a special statement that this would amount to a coup d'etat. [end recording]

The speaker deemed it possible for parliament to take part in the further work of the constitutional conference provided the subjects of the federation accept his demands. These include the need for the president to abandon his false view on the incompatibility between soviets and democracy, the provision for full participation by the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Commission in the constitutional conference, consideration of all the constitutional drafts, and acknowledgement that the role of the constitutional conference will be no more than consultative.

Denies Conference Has Legal Force

LD0906132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1239 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Russian parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov showed no sign of reconciliation with the president and said on Wednesday [9 June] that there can be no peace unless Boris Yeltsin drops "his wrong thesis that soviets and democracy are incompatible". He added that the presidential draft constitution does not have "the single conceptual line".

He told parliament that the constitutional conference convened by the president to work out the final draft constitution has no legal force and can give recommendations only.

The chairman warned he would disregard any decisions of the constitutional assembly because the work on the draft constitution is to "be carried out only in the constitutional way". He explained that this means the approval of the draft by parliaments of the federation and of the republics and by local soviets.

He added that the "so-called initialling of the constitution by subjects of the federation" should be ruled out. The constitution is to be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies or at a referendum if the Congress decides so, he stressed.

The chairman advanced several terms for his participation in the constitutional assembly which are clearly unacceptable for the president: the president has to keep the system of soviets in his draft constitution, the parliament and its constitutional commission should be granted full-fledged participation in the conference which can give only recommendations and pass no decisions, the discussion of all existing drafts of the basic law, the Supreme Soviet and the Congress are the only two legitimate bodies to decide on the new constitution and adopt it.

The speaker warned of a reshuffling in the parliament leadership saying "concrete measures, including organisational ones are to be taken against those who work half-force". He called on his deputies and other parliament leaders to "end the fuss and squabbles and stop undermining the parliament from inside".

The chairman said the parliament has to hold several meetings in the near future on urgent problems, such as anti-crime fight, conversion, agricultural issues. "We should not refrain from constructive interaction with the government", he said, adding that it is necessary "without political accusations" to discuss the results of six months of reforms.

Khasbulatov's Report Summarized

LD0906150393 Moscow [illegible]ak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Report by Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] The first matter tabled today for examination by the Russian Supreme Soviet session was Ruslan Khasbulatov's report analyzing the situation concerning the adoption of a new constitution. [passage omitted]

Regardless of the results of the Constitutional Conference, Khasbulatov said, subsequent work on the draft constitution should be carried out in a strictly constitutional manner. It is the congress that will finally adopt the constitution or, on the basis of its decision, the matter will be put to a referendum, said the speaker.

Touching on the issue of representative power, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet agreed with the need to investigate what is happening in parliament and how it is happening. In the speaker's view there should be a significant improvement in the work of the committees and commissions on which the main burden of daily drafting work should rest. If anyone is working at half capacity, specific steps, including organizational and personnel steps, should be taken. The head of the Supreme Soviet called for an end to the undignified rows and squabbles and to the undermining of the Supreme Soviet from within.

Ruslan Khasbulatov reiterated that there is a set of laws which need to be adopted urgently at the direct instruction of the congress, including acts related to the mass media and television. Many unflattering remarks about the media's work have been made at today's session by the speaker and other parliamentarians, something which has already become habitual.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet also called for a number of [illegible]s to be held very soon on pressing

matters: the regional budget, the fight against crime, conversion, and agrarian reforms. Khasbulatov also stated that constructive collaboration with the government should not be given up.

Ryabov Opposes Khasbulatov

LD0906135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1314 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 9 TASS—Deputy chairman of the Russian parliament opposed Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov in his rejection of the Constitutional Conference and called on legislators to "actively work on the creation of a new constitution and take a constructive approach to the constitutional assembly".

The parliament has been late with its decision on participation in the Constitutional Conference and thus "deprived itself of the possibility to influence the adoption of its procedural rules". Ryabov told lawmakers on Wednesday [9 June] referring to the fact that Khasbulatov was denied the floor at the conference because of procedural rules.

Ryabov called on the parliament to ask the Constitutional Conference that all agreed provisions of the draft constitution be considered by a special group which will unite presidential representatives, subjects of the Federation and legislators on an equal basis.

"Only on these conditions the final draft can be considered agreed upon", he said, adding that in this case the parliament can submit the draft for the adoption of the Congress of People's Deputies.

However, Ryabov also proposed to adopt a new law which will envisage other rules for adopting a new constitution than those fixed in the acting one.

Further Reportage on 7 Jun Closed Presidium Session

Ryabov Comments on Khasbulatov

LD0806145493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1315 GMT 8 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jun (TASS)—Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, considers that the time has come to adopt a law on the parliamentary presidium and its chairman, since "clauses in the constitution relating to the work of the parliamentary leadership are too general, and for this reason, the Presidium is still operating any way it likes."

In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he disclosed that yesterday's closed session of the presidium "did not discuss ways of 'sorting out' Ruslan Khasbulatov's leadership style, but debated the need to sort out the organization of the Supreme Soviet's work and the functions of the presidium, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, his deputies, and the chairmen of the chambers."

Nikolay Ryabov confirmed that the initiative for a meeting between some members of the Supreme Soviet presidium and the Russian president came from him. He believes that "compromise moves are needed, because both the president and the Supreme Soviet are committed to the adoption of the constitution."

Ryabov said he had not received a single paper from Ruslan Khasbulatov ever since he put forward his proposal on participation in the Constitutional Conference. He is not attending any working meetings with the Supreme Soviet chairman. "However, I will never resign from parliament," Nikolay Ryabov declared. "After all, that would be the easiest way out."

Ambartsumov Interviewed

MK0906074693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 1

[S. A. report on statement by Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of a Supreme Soviet committee: "Mutiny Aboard Ship. Khasbulatov Reserves the Final Move"]

[Text] The 5 June scandal in the constitutional conference involving Ruslan Khasbulatov accelerated the event that many of the parliament speaker's "subjects" were looking forward to and feared at the same time. On the evening of 7 June, members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium got together to "straighten out" the abnormal situation within the parliamentary leadership. It is known that recently some occupants of the White House have openly opposed the line pursued by their superior. The meeting was "closed," but not for MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. We met with a participant, Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of a Supreme Soviet committee.

[Ambartsumov] It would be wrong to say that a majority of presidium members have stated their distrust of Khasbulatov. There are only some 10 people who are sharply critical of the parliamentary leadership's authoritarian and libertarian style. I am among them, but I have no personal complaints to make against Khasbulatov. There is simply a feeling of protest against instances of rudeness with relation to members of the government and to their own colleagues. But perhaps the most serious thing is that Khasbulatov prevented a timely incorporation of the Supreme Soviet into the constitutional process.

[S.A.] According to Ambartsumov and his colleagues, they should have gotten together two to three weeks earlier to discuss everything quietly.

But now.... True, it has not come to fist fighting. But the infuriated speaker refused to listen to criticism and walked out of the hall. Therefore the greater part of the three-hour meeting proceeded without him. The speaker's departure cleared the atmosphere, and discussion returned to the parliamentary framework.

According to Ambartsumov, no accord, even a formal one, was reached, let alone a coordinated position. Nonetheless, the presidium session was not all in vain. Ambartsumov believes that what happened on Monday will necessarily produce an impact on a joint chamber session expected today. In his opinion, any decision is possible.

Could Khasbulatov's removal from the parliamentary helm be expected? After all, his "style of work" and "strategic miscalculations" were plentiful in the past, too. And Shumeyko and Filatov, who developed a taste for dissent, were quickly stripped of real powers. However, times are different today....

Stepashin Interviewed

PM0906082793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report: "Supreme Soviet Presidium's Closed Session Has Not Concealed Worsening of Most Serious Parliamentary Crisis"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidium's closed session on 7 June, at which the main question was Ruslan Khasbulatov's style of leadership in parliament, lasted for almost four hours. The speaker himself, limiting himself to brief comments on his colleagues' speeches, remained silent but in under an hour left the session without any kind of explanation. According to Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Questions of Defense and Security, R. Khasbulatov had been through a lot.

In an interview with IZVESTIYA S. Stepashin said that this is perhaps the first time in the Supreme Soviet's three years of work that a debate at a closed session of the Presidium has been so tough and serious. Alluding to ethical rules and the mutual agreement between delegates not to divulge the delicate agenda's contents, the Defense Committee chairman nevertheless agreed to answer several questions, admitting that the situation which has developed within the Supreme Soviet may even in the coming days radically alter the face of parliament. He described the plenary session planned for 9 June as decisive.

S. Stepashin is privately prepared for the fact that at the plenary session on 9 June those chairmen of parliamentary committees who "did not fall in line" will be ostracized, as was the case in the past with, among others, Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman N. Ryabov. However, as he said "there may even be a reaction in response to this when we deliver our [illegible]ts." But if Khasbulatov succeeds in defeating eight more parliamentary committees, S. Stepashin continued, this will be the final defeat of the Supreme Soviet itself.

At the Presidium session—and this is exactly how S. Stepashin described yesterday's debate which went on for many hours—no decisions were adopted; however, it was proposed that all committees submit their work to the Legislation Committee for subsequent preparation of legislative acts regulating the speaker and his deputies' activities, as well as those of the chairmen of the chambers, together with a clear indication of their obligations and rights. The parliamentary speaker, including the speaker of a future parliament, should only organize parliamentary sessions and the chambers' sittings, and should organize monitoring of the legislation's implementation, but he should not be the one-man leader of a faceless team.

According to S. Stepashin, the plenary session will be decisive for the development of the constitutional process. He expressed the fear that the majority of deputies may support the "appeal of the forty" leaders of oblast [illegible]oviets and of the Fede[illegible]on's subjects, which is harsh [illegible]nd confrontational and [illegible]ls for a complete split with the Kremlin Constitutional Conference and more or less for civil disobedience.

Russia, Sergey Stepashin emphasized, understands well what in general disobedience is, but does not understand well its "civil" manifestation. This is very dangerous. Even more dangerous is the statement made at a recent conference of the so-called left-wing, pro-communist opposition, which appealed directly to the Armed Forces to disobey the president as the Supreme Commander in Chief of the Russian Armed Forces. Such things must be stopped in a decisive manner, and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet should raise this question for discussion in parliament as quite a few deputies participated in the opposition conference. We will not allow the Army, the Russian Security Ministry, and the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs to be dragged into political squabbles, and I underline this as chairman of the Committee for Question of Defense and Security.

S. Stepashin does not nevertheless rule out the possibility that, in the event of the majority of the deputies' supporting the "appeal of the forty," a final split between the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Conference could occur at the plenary session, and then the process could percolate down to the local level and become uncontrollable. This was also a subject for discussion at the Presidium's closed session.

Sergey Stepashin does, however, consider that the Supreme Soviet has an opportunity and an obligation to channel the constitutional process in a constructive manner. It should first and foremost set about jointly completing work on the draft Constitution, including the Constitutional Commission draft; it should adopt, albeit very b[illegible]ly standing orders for parliament's participation [illegible]onstitutional Conference's work; and

thereafter it should get down to work on a law on elections. S. Stepashin is convinced that only the Congress of People's Deputies should adopt the new Constitution, and this will be the last honorable role it plays in the strengthening of Russia's statehood.

Touching on the situation which arose on 5 June during the Constitutional Conference's plenary session, S. Stepashin assessed the incident in a restrained manner. In his opinion, it was necessary at that moment to accede to the request of Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov and give him the opportunity to speak, as "by our reckoning he is the second most important figure in the state." All the more necessary as his position is known to everyone.

He pointed out that the president had already given an order to carry out an official investigation into the improper actions of the Protection Directorate, although S. Stepashin considers that it would in this connection be unnecessary if the president were to send a letter to the Supreme Soviet on the eve of the 9 June plenary session in which he might find it possible to express his apologies in this matter. It is necessary to take conciliatory steps, S. Stepashin concluded, reporting that today, 8 June, several members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium are prepared to meet with the president and discuss "concessions" from both sides. In any case they have made the appropriate request to the president and are hoping that time will be found for such an urgent dialogue.

Press Service Reports on Presidium

PM0906095193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Split Rumors Exaggerated"]

[Text] The parliamentary press service has reported that the 7 June Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium conference discussed questions connected with the course of the constitutional process. It was decided to submit this question for examination by the 9 June Russian Supreme Soviet session. Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, has been instructed to deliver a report.

Information reports on radio and television 7 and 8 June citing anonymous sources in which the discussion of important political problems at the Presidium session is reduced merely to differences in the positions of individual members are surprising.

We add on our own behalf that the pro-president mass media are at odds with elementary logic. They dislike everything: When parliament is monolithic and when different views on particular political events are discovered in it. There is an obvious desire to curb the natural contradictions in parliament and to put pressure on its leadership. Perhaps that is in the interests of certain political forces, but does it benefit Russia?

Hearings Begin on Supervision Council for TV

LD0806204093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Parliamentary hearings on the situation with the Federal Supervision Council and freedom of speech on state television have opened today in the Russian Parliament. Opening the hearings, head of the committee Vladimir Lisin reported about the infamous Ampilov stating that the Working Moscow movement intends to organize mass actions around Ostankino Television Center from 12 June. In connection with this, the Supreme Soviet committee has invited heads of the two television companies—Bragin and Poptsov, as well as Ampilov and Konstantinov to meet tomorrow for talks and to sort out their opinions.

After that Draft Number One of the Provision on the Federal Council prepared by the Supreme Soviet committee was presented to the deputies. Even a brief examination of this draft gave rise to many questions, the main one being: Who needs this new body the function of which is essentially to supervise, issue orders, dismiss and appoint heads of television companies, and even interfere in the basic work of radio and television journalists; at the same time modestly declaring its determination to fight censorship on television. This draft was presented at the hearing by People's Deputy Oleg Plotnikov.

Probably, in order to maintain a semblance of democratism, the Draft Number Two—on the boards of governors for radio and television companies—was also presented to deputies. It was prepared by the legal directorate of the All-Russian Radio and Television Company. No prize for guessing which of these drafts will be passed on to the Supreme Soviet session for approval. However, let us wait for official reports.

Official Hits Khasbulatov Tax Cut Proposal

PM0906092193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed, untitled report under "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric]

[Text] Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Russian parliament's Planning and Budget Commission, has described as "lethal" the proposal by Supreme Soviet head Ruslan Khasbulatov for a one-year 50-percent cut in all taxes for commodity producers.

He noted that the implementation of the speaker's proposal could lead to a loss to the federal and local budgets of 5 and 6 trillion rubles [R] respectively. Pochinok sees no possibility of making up these budget losses in any way at the present time. If the aforementioned R11 trillion remains at enterprises' disposal, he stressed, given today's savings-consumption ratio of 1:5, roughly R9 trillion will be channeled into consumption,

which will provoke a sharp increase in the level of prices. However, the leader of parliament's Planning and Budget Commission does consider that a change in the country's tax system is essential. Among other things, according to Pochinok, his commission is currently preparing amendments to tax legislation which provide substantial concessions for investors.

Regional Affairs

Chechen Prime Minister Denies Being Charged With Crime

LD0806132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1220 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Groznyy June 8 TASS—Head of the Chechen Government Yaragiy Mamadayev today denied reports that criminal proceedings were instituted against him on charges of large-scale embezzlements.

In his statement, addressed to ITAR-TASS, he described these reports as insinuations spread by President Dzhokhar Dudayev's associates and intended to discredit the constitutionally appointed prime minister and his government. Mamadayev recalled in this connection that the Chechen parliament had authorised him to represent the interests of the republic and its people during talks with the leadership of the Russian Federation in Moscow.

The prime minister said that in spite of all these provocations he would continue to discharge his mission.

Chechnya Denies Russians Forced To Leave

LD0806122793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Report by Irina Akhiyeva]

[Text] [Akhiyeva] Today, I contacted Mikhail Shatalov, head of the administration of Vladikavkaz, the North Ossetian capital, and Movladi Udugov, chief of the Information and Press Department of the Chechen Republic, by telephone. Mikhail Shatalov said the following:

[Begin recording] [Shatalov] Refugees from Ingushetia and Chechnya are arriving every day now in Ossetia, in Vladikavkaz and Mozdokskiy rayon. The flow has been going on for three years now and there are 15,000 refugees in the town. It is the Russian population that is coming. It is the Cossacks and Russians that are being kicked out. The Cossacks there have been disarmed, their houses and cattle have been taken away, and all of them are being swept out, so to speak. The town's leaders are tackling the question right now of where to put them. [end recording]

[Akhiyeva] The head of the administration of Vladikavkaz did not mince his words and we cannot broadcast all his accusations if only because we are duty-bound to consider the fate of Russians living in the Caucasus. Movladi Udugov appealed to us to do just this, although his version of events was diametrically opposed to Shatalov's.

[Begin recording] [Udugov] As for the information that some refugees have allegedly arrived from Chechnya, I can tell you officially that this is the most blatant misinformation and an absolute lie. [end recording]

[Akhiyeva] Unfortunately, because of the poor quality of the telephone line, I cannot let you hear the whole conversation with the head of the Information and Press Department of the Chechen Republic. I would, however, like to stress that in the view of Movladi Udugov, the increase in the number of refugees has been provoked by Moscow mass media and specifically by the Russian Information Agency. Movladi Udugov also noted that the correspondent who reported this information is an enemy of his own people because such news is making the Russians nervous and could provoke anti-Russian feeling. The head of the Information and Press Department of the Chechen Republic appealed to the Russian press, radio, and television to stop using information terror tactics against the Chechen Republic in general and its Russian population in particular.

Ingush President on Conflict With Ossetia

LD0806192793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1425 GMT on 8 June carries a 20-minute program entitled "North Caucasus Lesson," hosted by an unidentified correspondent, which deals with the Ingush-Ossetian conflict. The correspondent begins by trying to establish what was the original cause of the conflict. According to him it goes back to Stalinist repressions. However the immediate cause of the present conflict between the two republics was the creation of the North Ossetian republic.

Ruslan Aushev, president of the Ingush republic, is then interviewed on the situation. According to him, the North Ossetian republic was set up as a forced measure to provide some kind of definite status to the Ingush population.

The correspondent interposes that Ruslan Aushev joined the Ingush-Ossetian talks only lately, when he signed the March agreement between the two republics.

Aushev says that he joined the talks in order to settle the refugee problem, but adds that the problem has not been solved. He says that there should not be a problem of refugees because both republics are subjects of the Russian Federation.

Commenting on the Ossetian proposal for agreed localities for Ingush refugees who may wish to go back to

North Ossetia. Aushev says: "I believe that if we live in a law-based, democratic state, everyone should go back to his own home. I do not know of a precedent in world practice, and to talk about this plan, well it could only happen in Russia. People have been deported, chased from their homes, and now we debate whether they should go back or not."

The correspondent says that another cause of the fierce disputes over land in the North Caucasus is severe overpopulation of the region.

Ruslan Aushev says that because his republic used to be part of two other republics in succession, it now has to build its economy from scratch. He continues: "We have developed a program to employ the additional workforce. We have 56 percent unemployment. At least, previously people used to go to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and other parts, but you know what the situation is in the former Soviet Union."

According to Aushev, everything has to built right from the start. For example, there is not a single hotel in the republic. He stresses that it is important for his republic not to be isolated and that the young generation should receive good education and experience study and work in other CIS countries.

The correspondent goes on to say that old problems must not be ignored and that now this is a task for the federal center. According to him, the current constitution does not provide for a comprehensive settlement of conflicts such as the Ingush-Ossetian one, and the drafts of the new constitution are no better either.

Ruslan Aushev concludes that the only way out of the present situation is to find an agreement. "There is no other way. We are doomed to live together, whether we like it or not. We were neighbors and we will remain neighbors."

Moscow Soviet Chairman Wants Proceedings Against Yeltsin

PM0706124593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 2

[Yuriy Makhrin report: "Will Yeltsin Be Put on Trial?"]

[Text] Moscow City Soviet Chairman Nikolay Gonchar has applied to the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office to institute criminal proceedings against President B. Yeltsin; Yu. Luzhkov, head of Moscow's Administration (mayor); V. Yerin, Russian Federation internal affairs minister; and officials of the capital's Internal Affairs Main Administration, and to bring them to book for exceeding their prerogative and official powers with the use of force, and for taking actions which offended the personal dignity of those who suffered in the tragic events on 1 May 1993.

The officials' unlawful actions were accompanied by violence and offenses to the personal dignity both of the demonstration's participants and of militiamen, and led to disorder with bloody consequences. This included many people suffering serious physical injuries.

Tatarstan Insists on Mutual Delegation of Powers

LD0806094493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Regardless of what the final draft of the Russian Federation's constitution is going to be like, Tatarstan's stand will not change: its relations with Russia must be built on the basis of a treaty and of mutual delegation of powers. This was said by Tatarstan's President Mintimer Shaymiyev commenting on the work of the Constitutional Conference to a RIA correspondent.

Kalmyk President Proposes Third Draft Constitution

LD0406165093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The people have already made their choice in Kalmykia. They believe here that a third, alternative draft of the basic law of the Russian Federation which has been proposed to the federal authorities by Kalmyk President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, on behalf of the republic, will be the most successful of all.

The republic's provisional parliament has authorized its representatives at the coming constitutional conference in Moscow to uphold the draft of its millionaire president so that the latter will be directly taken heed of when working out a final version of the Russian constitution. The Ilyumzhinov constitution does on the whole have something in common with the version of Yeltsin's team, but it falls down on its brevity—only 55 articles. Many people will be shocked by the proposed model of the structure of our state. Only two subjects of the federation would remain—Russia itself and the republics. Russia would be made up of federal territories and national oblasts and districts.

[Begin Ilyumzhinov recording] If we now proceed along a path of sovereignization, or paper sovereignty, then in a few years' time, or even within one year, we will find that Russia will consist only of Moscow or Moscow oblast. Therefore, in our constitution we say that Russia is unified and indivisible. There should be no rights of nations to self-determination. No one has the right to secede from Russia; we should all be in Russia. [end recording]

Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Chairman on Constitution

PM0806082593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

["Viewpoint" article by Aman Tuleyev, chairman of Kemerovo Oblast Soviet: "Do Not Allow Power To Be Usurped"]

[Text] **An Excuse Was Needed**

Before discussing the drafts of the new Constitution we must answer the question: Is it possible in the present conditions to devise a new Constitution on a truly democratic basis?

Let us look back on certain events.

In 1991, when the propaganda media were not in the hands of Yeltsin and his supporters, he got 42 percent of the votes of voters on the electoral roll. In 1993, despite being fully in charge of television, radio, and the press and the power structures and possessing unlimited material and other opportunities to bring unprecedented psychological pressure to bear on Russians, Yeltsin got the votes of only 37 percent of the electorate.

A very unconvincing "victory." I am sure Yeltsin and his team are perfectly well aware of this: no matter what they say publicly and no matter how hard they try to look confident.

The president and his supporters must act immediately.

But how? Continue trying to compromise the opposition and discredit the representative authority? It is futile to do that. The further decline in production and in the people's living standards (indeed, the socioeconomic policy course remains the same) is the strongest argument of all. At any rate, in the Kuzbass most of us have expressed a lack of confidence in Yeltsin's so-called reforms.

In this situation the president's team needs to resolve at least two tasks immediately in order to remain afloat.

The first is to have done with the opposition and the unruly parliament and, at the same time, the entire representative authority and to rewrite the Constitution and all the laws according to its own wishes.

The second is to rein the people in and curb the mounting anger by conducting a cadre purge in the government and other managerial structures of the executive and reinforcing them with people utterly devoted to the president personally.

Dealing with the first task at a stroke, by outlawing the opposition and simply dismissing the people's parliament, when the referendum provided no legal grounds for this, would appear awkward. It needs a strong excuse.

And one has been found.

The Lessons of May Day

Well aware that the opposition was organizing a march and a rally on May Day, the official authorities created conditions whereby the demonstrators would inevitable clash with the special-purpose militia detachments.. People who call themselves democrats and who themselves came to power via street marches and rallies decided to use the strongest administrative edict method going—bans—to deprive those currently in opposition to them of this right.

Of course, they pretended that all that happened was a bloody provocation by neocommunists, with the Supreme Soviet as their accomplice, and they engaged the media to push this by periodically and selectively showing demonstrators clashing with special-purpose militia officers.

But newspaper readers and television viewers could not avoid the following questions.

On what grounds was the use of nightsticks and water cannon against peaceful demonstrators authorized? Where did all the rocks come from, considering it was an asphalt street? Did the special militia actually bring them in their trucks? And what about the pogrom Luzhkov talked about, when all the store windows remained intact after the clashes? Why were the trucks held in the rear by the special militia on fire? Who created the barriers out of motor vehicles in such a way that special militia officers had minimum access to the area where the tragic killing of Sergeant Toloknev occurred?

Why was the killer behind the wheel able to escape scot-free from the scene of the tragedy, when there were dozens of special militia officers around?

Why, on what is a traditional festival in our country, did the authorities, who like to be called democratic, need to introduce totally unwarranted restrictions on the holding of a demonstration and rally?

We have not yet had convincing answers to all these questions from the official authorities.

Ambitions Aside

In Kuzbass we also had a conflict between the representative and executive authorities which appeared insuperable. But oblast administration chief M. Kislyuk and I put aside our own ambitions and set about organizing constructive cooperation in economic activity. Although we still have fundamentally different views about the president's socioeconomic policy: Kislyuk supports him, I am against him. I believe our constructive collaboration is also helping to preserve a certain social stability in our overly politicized oblast.

The president too ought to consolidate the emerging accord and, through his own actions, develop cooperation between the different branches of authority in the regions. But, instead, we are being drawn into confrontation again.

You could spend a long time trying to establish who was actually responsible for the May Day drama, but there is a classic criterion: Who stood to gain?

The entire logic of the events that preceded this May Day and the president's subsequent address to the people demonstrate most convincingly who stood to gain.

In his second address to the people Yeltsin set out the essence of his program that was announced back on 20 March. And the missing grounds for implementing it appeared "of their own accord," as it were, precisely when they were most needed. Who is going to believe now that it was a coincidence?

In his address the president interpreted the referendum results in his favor and declared the Congress of Russian People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, and other representative bodies unlawful. He magnanimously granted them the opportunity to exist, but without power. He gave himself a free hand, as it were, by describing the Supreme Soviet as the patron of the neocommunuist extremist groupings that had allegedly organized the bloody provocation in Moscow on 1 May. By declaring that anyone who opposed him or his course of reforms would have to go, Yeltsin was making it clear that he had no intention of heeding the Constitutional Court either. The fact that he had unconstitutional measures in mind is indicated by his announcement of the start of a cadre purge in the executive bodies at the center and in the provinces—and he publicly directed the heads of various levels of administrations in this. It is perfectly clear that the purge will be conducted primarily in the internal affairs security bodies, other law-enforcement bodies, and the Russian armed forces.

On Behalf of the "People's Will"

Yeltsin set a personal example by expressing to the entire country his lack of confidence in Vice President Rutskoy and essentially dismissed him from his post.

Once the Council of Members of the Federation has adopted the new Constitution, the president intends to abolish the Congress of People's Deputies and the existing Supreme Soviet by electing a new Supreme Soviet in their place—in accordance with the new Constitution and under his control, enabling him to obtain the desired results in these elections. In this case the dismissal of the old representative authority would be a simple matter, since again it would be justified on the basis of the "people's will."

On a rather slim pretext Yeltsin has assumed the leadership of the fight against crime. One is reminded in this connection of his leadership of the government, when first Burbulis, and then Gaydar effectively controlled the ministers on the president's behalf.

In his address, Yeltsin told the whole world that all state power would henceforth belong to him alone and then he would run the country the way he saw fit, discarding the existing Russian legislation.

The Time for Compromises Is Past

All that has been said shows that the time for compromises with our president is past. He has deliberately brought the conflict with the Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies to crisis point, in order to do away with them and establish a dictatorship. He has totally rejected the idea of governing the country by legitimate means. Yeltsin burned his bridges with the 6 May address.

Can you argue with someone when he simply does not listen? The president can only agree with a parliament that is totally obedient to his will.

The radical democrats are brandishing the threat of a communist dictatorship, but they are the ones beating the people with sticks. They brandish the threat of communist reprisals, but they again are the ones most likely to jail people. They are drumming up fear in society of an alleged danger that fascists (meaning all patriots) are about to take over power, but where is fascism most likely to come from?

In this situation I believe that the next Congress of People's Deputies will have to dissolve itself. In order to be able to schedule elections of new deputies for an expanded Russian Federation Supreme Soviet in September 1993, which will replace the current Supreme Soviet and Congress. This will deprive the president of the opportunity to impose his will on the country on the pretext that the people's deputies are unpopular with Russian citizens. The elections to the new Russian parliament cannot be allowed to take place under the full control of the executive authority.

At this Congress it will be necessary to demand that the president give guarantees that he will not take any actions in contravention of the Russian Constitution. That he will instruct the newly elected Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to prepare and adopt the new Constitution.

Pacific Fleet Will Surround Arms Dumps With Mines

PM0806090993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Pacific Fleet Sailors Surround Their Arsenals With Minefields"]

[Text] An ITAR-TASS correspondent has relayed a sensational piece of news from Vladivostok: From the start of the summer, the Pacific Fleet has begun work on laying mines around depots containing weapons and munitions.

We have been forced to resort to these measures, I was told at the Navy Main Staff. The people taking part in attempts to attack depots and steal weapons and munitions are organized groups of criminals which in some cases even attract children, and the fact that we do not have the necessary complement of sailors to carry out guard duty means that we are forced to use special mine and engineering obstacles to defend our arsenals.

The specialists explained that the danger zones are equipped with warning signs and notices. Trip flares will be laid for those who cannot or will not read. These will

warn the inattentive wanderer or the criminal that he is in a protected zone. The rocket flare, moreover, with its protracted and unpleasant sound, will scare off animals if they stray into the zone and alert the guards, who will immediately go to the scene.

If the trip flares do not work, the protected zone will also be equipped with mine and engineering obstacles—a system of high-voltage, high-frequency wire barriers, and only then will an intruder encounter high explosive fragmentation mines and other more serious obstacles. Much the same defense system has been established around strategic missile forces positions.

The Pacific Fleet command has agreed its action with the local administration. It has warned the population of regions where weapons depots and arsenals are located that it will not be responsible for death, injury, or mutilation arising from attempts to gain entry to weapons bases.

Incidentally, a fleet engineering battalion has to date been working at the site of a recent fire and explosions at similar depots near Vladivostok. Combat engineers and explosives demolition teams are extracting the unsafe munitions and destroying them.

The work in these locations, the specialists told me, will go on for about three years.

Economic Council Delegation Tours Far East

OW0706075893 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 2 Jun 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Nearly 100 representatives from participating nations in the 26th session of the Pacific Basin Countries Economic Council, which took place in Seoul in the latter part of May, are currently traveling around the Russian Far East to acquaint themselves in detail with prospects of developing business and investment in this region.

During the past weekend the delegation visited Vladivostok and the Nakhodka Free Economic Zone, where the guests showed interest in the development of the infrastructure, progress in privatization, and an assured power supply. Having acquainted themselves with the Nakhodka Free Economic Zone, the foreign businessmen submitted a number of proposals for its development. Specifically, the guests suggested the inadvisability of creating several gigantic equipment parks as envisaged in the current detailed project plan. The delegation flew to Khabarovsk for the same purpose.

Bashkortostan Unveils Plan To Boost Gold Production

MK0806112693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under "NEGA reports" rubric: "Bashkortostan"]

[Text] The Bashkortostan Government has approved a special program for the development of gold production in the republic for 1993-2005.

The program defines the key areas for the creation of the Bashkir gold industry. During the implementation of the program, a state production association called "Bashzoloto" is to be set up with headquarters in the city of Uchaly. It will include the Mindyakskiy and Tubinskiy mines acting as legal entities with their own balances, and also the "Uralzolotorazvedka" Ural General-Purpose Prospecting Expedition.

It is envisioned that while these well-known gold mines will continue to produce ore and placer gold, new enterprises producing and processing gold ores will be set up, along with new refineries and production facilities to process gold-containing wastes and to extract precious metals from radio electronic scrap metal.

International Affairs

Spokesman: Kravchuk 'Convinced' Parliament To Ratify START I

LD0806211093 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1613 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] President Leonid Kravchuk is convinced that parliament will ratify the START I treaty and that it will adopt a decision on Ukraine acceding to the Lisbon protocol. This was stated by Anton Buteyko, head of the President's international affairs office, at a briefing at the Ukraine Foreign Ministry today. [passage omitted]

Replying to questions regarding control [kontrol] over nuclear weapons on CIS territory, Anton Buteyko noted that Ukraine does not have and is not striving for operational control [kontrol] and is only implementing administrative control. [passage omitted]

Views Aspin Visit, Nuclear Weapons Issues

LD0806191293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Anatoliy Komirenko on briefing by Anton Buteyko, head of the president's international affairs office at the Foreign Ministry on 8 June; Buteyko remarks recorded]

[Excerpt] [Komirenko] Mr. Buteyko replied to numerous questions from journalists concerning the recent visit of the U.S. defense secretary to Kiev, the process of parliament ratifying international agreements on nuclear weapons, and on whether the U.S. position toward our state has changed on disarmament issues. Replies to such questions as for example whether Ukraine's declared non-bloc status is going to change, etc, caused special interest among the journalists.

Dwelling in detail on the results of the visit by the U.S. defense secretary to Ukraine, Anton Buteyko noted that in the course of the talks Ukraine's position was elucidated and further steps of cooperation between the two states were worked out, including in military affairs. According to Mr. Buteyko, special attention was focused on issues of granting security guarantees to Ukraine. On the U.S. position toward Ukraine he noted:

[Buteyko] In the course of the conversation between the president and the U.S. defense secretary, a wide range of issues linked to further relations between our two states was examined, including the U.S. proposal regarding a mediating role in settling those problems which exist in relations between Ukraine and Russia. We evaluate positively the change in U.S. statements and words, which has now appeared. The United States is expressing through its officials the wish to begin a new stage of multi-faceted cooperation, which will be developed as partnership and friendship.

[Komirenko] On the matter of Ukraine's statement on not being part of a bloc, Mr. Buteyko stressed:

[Buteyko] Ukraine is going to be a non-bloc state. This decision has been adopted by parliament, and only parliament can change it. As far as Ukraine not being part of a bloc is concerned, I would like to stress that not being part of a bloc does not at all mean that Ukraine will not cooperate in military issues with any state. We believe that the non-bloc nature of Ukrainian policy has a positive tendency. And naturally you know that Ukraine is taking part in NATO bodies, which makes it possible to cooperate in the political and military-political spheres. Ukraine also cooperates within the framework of the CIS on issues concerning military-technical cooperation.

[Komirenko] In connection with issues of Ukraine's parliament ratifying international agreements on nuclear weapons, the problem of guarantees for Ukraine's security stands out sharply. On this subject the journalists heard the following:

[Buteyko] As you know, Ukraine's position regarding security guarantees is that its territorial integrity and the inviolability of its borders should be guaranteed. It should be guaranteed that nuclear and conventional weapons will not be used against Ukraine, and that economic pressure will not be used. [passage omitted]

Germany's Chancellor Kohl Arrives for 2-Day Visit

LD0806215293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2100 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] On 8 June Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl, arrived in Kiev on a two-day official visit. He was met at the airport by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and other Ukrainian officials.

After the welcoming ceremony the German chancellor and the Ukrainian officials went to Kiev.

Begins Talks With Kravchuk

LD0906145493 Berlin DDP in German 1350 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Kiev (ADN)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl began his political talks in the Ukrainian capital Kiev this afternoon. He held a meeting with President Leonid Kravchuk immediately after his arrival, at which the main topics were expected to be economic cooperation and the situation of the ethnic German population in the Ukraine. It was also expected that Kohl would press for the ratification of the START I Treaty.

A few days ago, Kravchuk assured U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin that the parliament would probably ratify the disarmament treaty in June.

Earlier, Kohl had described relations with Ukraine as important for the Federal Republic. There was now the

possibility of developing new, good, and future-orientated relations with all neighbors, he told the press after landing in Kiev. It was necessary to draw lessons from history together.

This is the chancellor's first visit since Ukraine's independence. According to information from the Ukrainian side, a declaration on the principles of bilateral relations will be signed. Among the documents prepared for signing was also a government agreement on cooperation in the resettling of Germans expelled from Ukraine.

Today, the chancellor also intends to lay a wreath at the tomb of the Unkown Soldier and at the Babi-Yar memorial in the outskirts of Kiev. [passage omitted]

Airborne Division Apportioned Between Russia, Ukraine

LD0806160293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] The personnel of the 1st Mobile Air Division of the Odessa Military District have sworn allegiance to the people of Ukraine. This ceremonial act completes the carve-up of the 98th Airborne Division, which had been deployed in the town of Bolgrad in Odessa Oblast. The Russian part of the division, that is more than 500 officers and non-commissioned officers, and part of the fighting equipment and weapons have gone to places of new deployment in Ivanovo Oblast in Moscow region. The process of carving up the division proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. Full accord was reached between the Ukrainian and Russian sides on the fate of the troops.

Russia Cuts Oil Supplies

LD0806170493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Because of Ukraine's inability to deliver payments, Russia has cut oil supplies to our country. We were informed about this today by Ukraine's State Committee for Oil and Gas. As Mykola Popovych, head of the committee's directorate, noted, this will continue until Ukraine pays its oil debt to Russia, which according to him is very large. Today, four out of six oil processing plants in Ukraine are not receiving raw materials from Russia.

Naval Officers Union Issues Statement on Black Sea Fleet

LD0906105693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1000 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] The Ukraine Naval Forces Officers' Union has adopted a statement in connection with events surrounding the Black Sea Fleet. It says: Taking into account that in the Russian Federation, in particular its Supreme Soviet [words indistinct], which are striving to give Sevastopol the status of a Russian town no matter what, the long-term stay of Russia's fleet would be a permanent, destabilizing factor not only in Sevastopol but in the Crimea and in relations between Ukraine and Russia. We believe, the statement notes, that talks can only be about a temporary stay of Russian fleet naval vessels following the urgent division of the Black Sea Fleet complement of ships and the redeployment of all of Ukraine's onshore infrastructure.

Moldova

Dniester Sends 250 People To Fight in Abkhazia

AU0806103393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1919 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 7/6/1993—Two hundred and fifty people from the Dniester Republic, on Friday, the 4th of June, left for Abkhazia to participate in military actions on the side of Abkhazian separatists as hirelings. A BASA reporter has got a document which testifies that volunteers, who flew from the airport in Tiraspol on "IL-76", are not professional soldiers and that they will be commended by officers of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic. The document was signed by the Tiraspol Minister of Defense, Stanislav Hojdeev, by the Minister of Interior Affairs, Nikolai Matveev and by the Minister of State Security of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, Vadim Shevtsov.

Tiraspol Officials Deny Sending Units

AU0906102793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1931 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS, 8/6/1993—Alexandru Caraman, vice-president of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, and Ana Volkova, vice-president of the legislative body denied in an interview for OLVIA press agency the participation of some soldiers from Dniester on behalf of the Abkhazian separatists. They declared that the news broadcasted by "OSTANKINO" Television represents a political provocation which is aimed to create premises for possible enemy actions against the republic they are leading.

Snegur Emphasizes Need To Preserve Ties With Tyumen

AU0806112393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1919 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 7/6/1993—The Republic of Moldova is particularly interested in preserving good relations with its partners from the region of Tyumen in the Russian Federation, even under the circumstances when many promising contacts with suppliers of sources of energy from other states are anticipated, noted today Moldova's President Mircea Snegur in the course of his meeting with the general director of the Tyumenneftegas production association and with the chairman of the executive secretary of the CIS on questions concerning oil and gas, Yuriy Vershinin.

The president's press-service informs that Vershinin expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the Moldovan side accomplished contracted commitments on time and in their full capacity. In the same context he specified the necessity of deepening the direct contacts by means of joint investments into exploiting new oil and gas deposits, and also through creating joint ventures in this sphere.

Andronati Signs Economic Cooperation Document With Iran

AU0806112993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 8/6/1993—An official delegation headed by Nicolae Andronati, first vice premier of the Republic of Moldova, has paid a visit to Tehran for negotiations with decision-makers in the Foreign Ministry, in the ministries of heavy industry, of oil, agriculture, culture, and education, as well as with a group of experts of the Iranian Government. A memorandum was signed on the occasion regarding economic and commercial collaboration between Iran and the Republic of Moldova.

According to a MOLDOVA-PRES broadcast, the Moldovan delegation expressed the intention to annually barter from Iran some 3 million tonnes of fuel imports.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev, Kyrgyz President Sign Friendship Treaty

LD0806151893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1343 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Lunev]

[Text] Almaty June 8 TASS—One on one talks between Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev have ended here today. The leaders of the two countries had a thorough exchange of views on problems of further promoting and deepening the entire range of bilateral relations. They noted that Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, as equal states, were ready to promote cooperation in the political, commercial, economic, and ecological spheres, to step up cultural and scientific contacts on principles of mutual respect of sovereignty and non-interference in each other's affairs.

The two presidents expressed the readiness of their states to cooperate in the consolidation of peace, to ensure stability and security in the region and on the Eurasian continent as a whole.

The leaders of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan reaffirmed the immutability of their chosen course to strengthen state independence, establish democratic institutions, implement broad- scale reforms, and to switch over to a civilised market economy.

Akayev invited the Kazakh president to visit Kyrgyzstan at any time suiting him. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The two government delegations, led by first vice-premier of Kazakhstan Daulet Sembayev and Kyrgyz Vice-Premier Yesengul Omuraliyev, held talks here parallel with the negotiations between the two presidents.

Presidents Nazarbayev and Akayev signed a treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic. Intergovernmental agreements were also concluded on the settlement of debts for 1992 and past five months of this year, and on the granting of a long-term credit to Kyrgyzstan. The sides also signed a protocol on the progress of commercial-economic cooperation in 1993 and several other documents.

The Kyrgyz delegation left for Bishkek today afternoon.

Comment on Kyrgyz Som

LD0806175693 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0600 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev by correspondent Akilbek Sansyzbay-ulu on 8 June after their news conference; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Sansyzbay-ulu] President Akayev, a short time ago President Nursultan Nazarbayev said that following the introduction of the Kyrgyz som it is faced with difficulties in its use inside the CIS and other countries, which means you need more hard currency. How are you going to solve it and with which countries are you working together?

President Nazarbayev, according to some reports there are considerable problems in southern oblast border regions in Kazakhstan in connection with the introduction of the Kyrgyz som.

[Akayev] First of all, we can say that it would be good enough if foreign currency can support us. According to our calculations, in order to close our deficit we need about $400 million. We would like to keep our cooperation with the CIS states in terms of trading and other business. [Words indistinct] now we have reached a new agreement with Kazakhstan in which we strengthen our relations even better than before. Therefore, if we have $400 million for closing the deficit [several words indistinct] in exchange for soms we calculated about $100 million, and so far we have organized a few auctions where we sold $5 million worth of soms.

We reached an agreement with Japan and the United States to extend credit and loan on an easy term basis and also to provide government assistance. Therefore, I believe that we should support the som and make it a convertible currency.

[Nazarbayev] When they introduced their own currency while the ruble was still in circulation, naturally we were effected by it near the border regions. [Word indistinct] at the beginning of the four or five day period we bought several billion som from Kyrgyzstan that were brought to us. After that we retained some goods that were paid in [Nazarbayev speaks indistinctly] the reason, especially in the neighboring rayons of Almaty and Jambul oblasts where people were spending money in Kazakhstan, which means they were taking back goods for nothing. Nevertheless, we could not say that we retained all of them, but the measures taken by Uzbekistan were very harsh during that time. They did not spend all their money and are still keeping it. One of the basic issues is to withdraw the ruble from circulation, in which case nobody would suffer. Probably these people [Kyrgyz Government] did not withdraw the ruble from the beginning or it might have gone already. There will be no harm to anybody once the Russian currency is sold off in Kyrgyzstan.

Nazarbayev Receives Delegation of Japanese Businessmen

LD0806155293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1535 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Konstantin Borodinov for TASS]

[Text] Almaty June 8 TASS—President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan received a representative delegation of some 70 Japanese businessmen led by "Mitsubishi" Board of Directors' Chairman Morohashi Shinroku.

According to the visitors themselves, it is for the first time ever that Japanese business community sends such an imposing delegation abroad.

Nazarbayev informed the visitors about the Kazakhstan's broad capacities for developing economic cooperation with other countries.

Morokhashi Shinroku noted that it was the sixth business delegation to come to Kazakhstan from Japan; an all-round investigation of the local market was being done.

He expressed assurance of successful development of the bilateral cooperation. He cited a stable political situation in Kazakhstan and reliable legislative foundations attracting foreign investors as important prerequisites.

The "Mitsubishi" company has already launched into the construction of an oil-extracting complex in western Kazakhstan.

All in all, Japan will invest about 300 million dollars into various branches of the Kazakhstan economy in the nearest future.

Report on Visit by DPRK Assembly Delegation

LD0806152893 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] On 5 June an official delegation of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly led by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Commission of the Supreme People's Assembly, left for Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. The DPRK envoys visited a number of agricultural facilities.

Of special interest for them was a visit to the Ushtobe state farm, where a great number of Koreans work. The DPRK delegation visited a local kindergarten. The teacher of one of the groups, Svetlana Chan, demonstrated in practice how children study the Korean language. Vera Shin, a vegetable grower, is well known outside of her district for her labor achievements. The farm built a house for her family as a gift and it was also visited by the guests.

The Korean delegation met with representatives of the working collectives of Karatay Rayon. On Sunday the members of the delegation met in the oblast council with the leadership of the legislative body, the leaders of local enterprises, and visited the Korean cultural center. After a visit to the museum of local lore, history, and economy the delegation returned to Almaty. On 7 June the DPRK guests visited the capital's Medeo sport complex, the republican center for out-of-school work with children, and had a meeting with members of the Kazakhstan-Korea friendship club.

In the afternoon Serikbolsyn Abdildin, chairman of the Supreme Kenges, and Yang Hyong-sop signed an agreement on cooperation between the parliaments of Kazakhstan and the DPRK. After that the leaders of the parliaments held a news conference. The DPRK delegation will leave for Moscow in the morning OF 8 June.

Nazarbayev Meets Government Leaders on Anti-Crisis Program

LD0806124393 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] Yesterday Nursultan Nazarbayev had a meeting with the leadership of the government, headed by Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko and the ministers who are responsible for the implementation of an anti-crisis program. In his speech at the meeting he sharply critizised the high-ranking officials, through whose fault the urgent measures aimed at lifting the economy out of crisis are being fulfilled in a slow and unsatisfactory manner. He in particular drew attention to the fact that the anti-crisis program has not become a keynote document for the government itself. The national council for economic transformations, which has been set up by the president's decree, is practically inactive. The anti-crisis program is losing its systematic character, consistency, and logic. The decisions which are adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers are less and less often coordinated with its demands and provisions.

On the other hand, the government pays considerable attention to strategical and current issues, which does not help to foster the program. The president went on to note that there is no close interaction between the Ministry of Finance and the National State Bank in the issues of saturation of the state budget. Therefore, the practibality of the approved budget looks doubtful, especially now that it contradicts some of the laws. Nonexistent is the coordination in the foreign economic policy. An exchange of opinions took place during the meeting. Under examination at the meeting were the problems of implementation of the anti-crisis steps, the privatization program, the monetary payments in the CIS and in the republic, and the steps needed to develop the production of consumer goods as well as other urgent issues. During the discussion Nursultan Nazarbayev gave instructions to the officials, specifying the deadlines for their fulfilment.

In conclusion, he emphasized that the current problems should not push into the background the prospects and that all work has to be clearly organized. The national council for economic transformations should establish order in using foreign investments, export and import operations, and the formation of the republican currency fund. Emphasis should be laid upon implementating reforms in the rural areas, and the issues of privatization and the fight against crime. Vice President Yerik Asanbayev also attended the meeting.

Nazarbayev Issues Decree on Agricultural Work

LD0806181493 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Decree on 1993 harvest issued by President Nursultan Nazarbayev]

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] With the aim of ensuring organized harvesting and storage and rational use of the agricultural harvest and fodder procurement in 1993, I decree as follows:

1. The timely handling of the harvest and the state procurement of agricultural produce and fodder for animal husbandry should be regarded as the main tasks in the republic's national economy.

2. A republican commission on agriculture is to be set up with the aim of coordinating the work of the heads of the local administrations, ministries, state committees, departments and holding companies in the strategic settlement of issues connected with producing, harvesting, procuring, supplying and accumulating food produce and fodder for animal husbandry and backing it up with resources, to set up a republican commission on agriculture. [passage omitted] The commission members are to include the leaders of the oblasts and Almaty and Leninsk city administrations. The leaders of the local administrations should set up similar commissions in the regions, cities, and rayons.

3. These commissions are to be entrusted with the following powers: Together with the heads of the local administrations, ministries, state committees, departments, concerns, holding companies, banks and associations, they should make operational decisions on the rational utilization of the internal republican monetary, material, and technical resources, and on attracting transport, workers, students and all people capable of work of the towns and the rayon centers, as well as those outside the republic, to render support to regions in handling the harvest, storing fodder, and transporting produce to the procurement centers.

They should handle transport transfers from one region to another and also send workers and students to take in the harvest and procure agricultural produce.

They should arrange the rational utilization of the storage facilities and drying plants of the Republic of Kazakhstan for receiving and processing grain. If necessary, they should take steps to dispatch it to the countries of the CIS in accordance with inter-governmental agreements.

4. The leaders of the oblast administrations should use inter- oblast connections in satisfying the demand of the oblast population for potatoes, vegetables, berries, grapes, and melons both for seasonal trade and for long-term storage. Exporting this produce outside Kazakhstan should be allowed only if internal republican contracts for their supplies are approved by the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

5. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan should make organizational decisions on conducting harvest work on schedule, on ensuring procurement and supply of agricultural produce and raw materials for state requirements in 1993, and also on strengthening state control over the sales of wheat, fodder, and groat crops outside Kazakhstan.

[Signed] N. Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazkhstan

Armenia

U.S. Senators Challenged on Recognition of Karabakh

PM0906084793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 93 p 2

[Armen Khanbabyan report under "In Our Own Correspondents' View" rubric: "Senators Arrive in Armenia"]

[Text] Yerevan—In the view of three American senators—P. Simon, H. Brown, and H. Reid—who visited Armenia the other day, the republic has great potential. It will not, however, be able to realize it until the conflict in Karabakh ends. According to Republican Senator P. Simon, only after that will it be possible to count on American capital being actively procured for the country's economy. At the same time the legislators from across the Atlantic emphasized that during their trip they had had the opportunity to see for themselves on more than one occasion that the Armenian people are peace-loving. They were therefore leaving Armenia in an optimistic frame of mind, believing in a speedy end to this conflict.

The American senators' optimism did not prevent local journalists from putting a rather undiplomatic question to them: Why in spite of the democratically conducted referendum on independence in Karabakh does the United States ignore this fact and continue to insist that it is impossible to recognize the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh? After all, Americans themselves once took up arms to fight for their independence and achieve the creation of their own state.

The reply, it has to be said, surprised the journalists very much. "History has been witness to many mistakes," Senator Simon stated, "but we do not have the right to make them today." Evidently we have to take this to mean that the United States is a state which came into being as the result of a historical mistake. How else can we interpret the reply?

Yerevan To Restart Nuclear Plant Despite West's Concerns

MK0906094093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jun 93 p 3

[Armen Khanbabyan report: "Not By Commonwealth Alone. Foreign Minister Gives Press Conference"]

[Excerpts] "Having attained independence, Armenia should strive for deep integration in the world community. Cooperation within the CIS is helpful and necessary, but limiting ourselves to it would not be far-sighted or promising," said Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazyan, who has just returned from a trip to Greece, Britain, and France, at a briefing in Yerevan. [passage omitted]

The minister's account was expanded by Vladimir Manoyan, Council of Ministers press secretary. According to Manoyan, the West is concerned over Armenia's decision to renovate and again to put into operation the Armenian nuclear electric power station. The concern stems not only from ecological considerations: In Europe they strongly dislike the idea of a small state like Armenia having an effective military and political trump card, such as a nuclear power station. There have even been hints from top leaders of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development that the bank is unlikely to finance the plan to revive the nuclear power plant. Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan noted, however, that the Armenian Government decision was irreversible and that money for relaunching the nuclear electric power station would be found anyway.

Foreign Ministry Condemns Azerbaijani Shelling

NC0806171093 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Statement issued by the Foreign Ministry; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] As a result of the shelling of Armenian territory from the Azerbaijani gun emplacements on 3 June, a section of the gas pipeline entering Armenia was damaged. The accumulated gas has started to escape, threatening the ecology of the region and the security of the population.

The border villages and the rayon center Berd in Armenia's Tavushskiy Rayon were subjected to rocket shelling from Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon on 5 June. Nine peaceful citizens were injured and substantial damage was caused in the region as a result of the shelling.

Due to the escalation of the military operations in the northeastern border regions, specialists' repair work on the gas pipeline has been disrupted. Efforts to calculate the material damage to the Republic continue.

These military operations were launched against Armenia by the Azerbaijani Armed Forces at the same time that intensive negotiations are going on at international forums to settle the Karabakh conflict politically.

In resolutely condemning these operations, the Armenian Foreign Ministry is authorized to declare that the Republic's authorities reserve the right to ensure that measures are taken against the danger threatening the security of Armenia's territory and citizens, and Azerbaijani authorities will be held fully responsible for the consequences.

Azerbaijan

Reports Highlight Continuing Events in Gyandzha

Opposition Wants Government To Resign

LD0806122593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1109 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 8 Jun—Today's sitting of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan, convened to discuss the situation which has arisen as a result of the events in Gyandzha, has been postponed from 1100 to 1500. The building of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet has been encircled by the national army and internal troops servicemen.

Since this morning opposition representatives, mostly members of the Party of National Independence of Azerbaijan, have been arriving here from all corners of the city. A protest action initiated by this party against the actions of the authorities which led to clashes and bloodshed in Gyandzha is now under way. The main demands of the participants of this action is the resignation of the government and the parliamentary leadership, and legal action against all those who were responsible for the organization and implementation of the Gyandzha operation, which nearly led to a civil war in the republic.

Today the opposition newspaper MILLET (NATION) published a statement of the coordinating council of a number of republican political parties assessing the present situation. It specifically underlines the "the Azerbaijan leadership which has illegally extended the state of emergency for two months is in fact pushing the people towards a civil war." The authors of the statement have accused a group of high ranking officials of "usurping the power" and acting, according to them, in way "that is dangerous for the Azerbaijan state system".

The ITAR-TASS correspondents have learned that a state commission instructed to find out the causes of the tragic events that had taken place in Gyandzha came back from there today. The commission's official report has not been made public yet. The initial findings indicate that the members of the commission, which included people's deputies, elders, religious leaders, and members of the government, were on the whole negative about the action taken by the authorities on 4 June with the aim of disbanding the army unit in Gyandzha.

Guseynov Still Controls Gyandzha

NC0806132993 Yerevan SNARK in English 0931 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 8 (TURAN)—According to the latest information from Gyandzha, about 70 soldiers of Azerbaijan MIA [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal forces went over to the side of subdivisions, headed by Surat Guseynov. The city is still under his control.

[Words indistinct] number of neighbouring with Gyandzha regions and cities of Azerbaijan are declared about their solidarity with S. Guseynov. So, the leaders of executive power were removed from their office in Mingechaur city and in Khanlarskiy and Yevlakhskiy regions. Surat Guseynov's supporters were appointed on their place.

Kamberov: 'Coup Attempt' 'Inspired From Without'

NC0806141993 Baku TURAN in English 0932 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 8 (TURAN)—Today a special sitting in the president apparatus, which had started late in the evening, completed at 1 a.m. Addressed the sitting Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov said, the rumours, that the authorities of the Republic ordered to open the fire at insubordinate to Baku military subdivisions were unfounded [words indistinct] happened: One of Gyandzha military units (Commander Colonel Surat Guseynov) for a long time had been refusing to place under the command of Defence Ministry of the Republic. After that, minister of defence issued a decree on breaking up this unit. On June 4 the representatives of Defence Ministry came [words indistinct] of the unit and read out the order to its staff. In reply to the [words indistinct] their territory and attacked government subdivisions, located in Gyandzha city.

As a result of rebels using armoured techniques and artillery, there were killed and wounded among the peaceful citizens. Having captured a number of objects in the city (airport, MIA [Ministry of Internal Affairs], MNS [Ministry of National Security] and the residence of the executive power leader), the rebels demanded the resignation of the government of the republic and the summoning of a special session of parliament. In the cause of a conflict 70 people were killed, 200 were wounded.

(According to the version of the rebels commander Surat Guseynov, the authorities worked out the action named "Tufan" [Hurricane]. The aim of the action is to arrest Surat Guseynov and his military units. Arrived to Gyandzha government forces, first opened the fire at their subordinates to force them to surrender). P. Guseynov disproved spreaded recently information on carrying out by the authorities "Tufan" action, and called it rumours, aimed to discredit the guidance of the republic.

Addressed the sitting the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Isa Kamberov noted, that Gyandzha armed conflict was inspired from without. We have been informed, that Surat Guseynov's subdivision received about 60 armoured technique units and a number of another arms from 104th Russian Landing Division, which had left

Gyandzha the day before. And what is more, the representatives of Russian special service and Defence Ministry are in Gyandzha and they instruct S. Guseynov's military units, said Isa Kamberov. The aim of these actions is to overthrow present regime in Azerbaijan and to bring to the power the forces, that were guided by Russia.

Isa Kamberov called all the events in Gyandzha military coup attempt and added, that Azerbaijan authorities had all the possibilities to suppress the rebels, but they didn't want further bloodshed. Isa Kamberov appealed to the rebels to agree with the authorities and to lay down their arms.

Guseynov Blames Government for 'Bloodshed'

NC0806153493 Baku TURAN in English 1401 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 8 June (TURAN)—At todays press-conference in Gyandzha the leader of the rebels Surat Guseynov informed, that the leadership of Azerbaijan is to blame for the bloodshed. To his words, the operation was carrying out by the Prime-Minister Panakh Guseynov and the Chairman of the Parliament Isa Kamberov. But this circumstance by no means relieve President Elchibey of responsibility, he noted.

In his interview to TURAN agency correspondent S. Guseynov said, that the government troops were the first to open fire. As the result of these actions, there are victims among the inhabitants of the city, including children.

To S. Guseynov's words, he didn't use foreign mercenaries and didn't need the arms of the Russian Army. S. Guseynov also informed, that the commander of the government military unit Lezgin Ramazan Magomedov refused to carry out the order of the headquarters, trying to stop bloodshed. If not Magomedov's wise decision one can only guess what kind of new ethnic crisis Azerbaijan could have run into, he noted.

S. Guseynov pointed out, that his military unit is legal and the government had approved its forming in one time.

To S. Guseynov's words, the demand of summoning the session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic is legal, for deputates were elected by people and they have rights to carry out their duties.

Interior Minister Unaware of Fighting

LD0906144193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Baku June 9 TASS—Interior Minister of Azerbaijan Abdulla Allakhverdiyev told national legislators on Wednesday [9 June] he knew nothing about the events in Gyandzha until after several hours when the bloodshed occurred.

However, he added that a week before the tragic developments several interior units were dispatched to Gyandzha "in connection with the aggravation of the criminal situation" there. The units were to help local police in restoring order, he added.

The speech of the interior minister did not suit the legislators as it did not shed light on the reasons of the clashes which claimed 69 lives.

The minister was blamed for not knowing the current situation in Gyandzha.

Kamberov Offers To Resign

NC0806155193 Baku TURAN in English 1401 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 8 June (TURAN)—This afternoon about hundred deputies of the Supreme Soviet gathered in front of the republican parliament building. They demanded to summon a special session. No measures have been undertaken by police.

According to having information the parliament speaker Isa Kamberov at Musavat Party meeting declared of intention to send in his resignation in order to stop dangerous development of the events in the Republic. The members of Divan, the higher legislative body of this party, protested against such decision. But Kamberov declared of his readiness to take this step for the sake of normalization of the situation.

TURAN agency was informed that Isa Kamberov appealed to the chairman of the Supreme Mejlis of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Geydar Aliyev with a request to make for preventing of the development of dangerous events in the country. According to having information Aliyev is possible to come to Baku to take part in Milli Mejlis meeting.

Aliyev Possible Choice To Replace Guseynov

LD0806115293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1105 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku, 8 Jun—Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the supreme majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, is expected to arrive in the capital of Azerbaijan today. Azerbaijan Airlines reported that a special airplane has been sent for him in Nakhichevan. Aliyev is to participate in a sitting of the national assembly of the republic at which the deadlock situation which has evolved in Azerbaijan as a result of the events in Gyandzha are to be discussed.

Confidential sources report that the 70-year-old head of the Nakhichevan parliament, formerly the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

of Azerbaijan and a member of the CC CPSU Politburo, will likely be offered the choice of two of the highest posts in the state: that of prime minister, in the place of Panakh Guseynov who has resigned, or of speaker of the parliament. Although the latter is not vacant, informed circles do not exclude the possibility that Isa Gambarov will resign from this post.

At this time it is not yet known which position Aliyev, a rather experienced politician, will choose. In a recent interview, Aliyev stated that he is "full of strength and energy and ready to apply every effort to lead his people out of misfortune which it is in."

Aliyev Arrives in Baku

NC0906125893 Baku TURAN in English 1157 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 9 (TURAN)—Geydar Aliyev the chairman of Supreme Mejlis of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic arrived in Baku just now.

G. Aliyev will take part in todays sitting of Milli Mejlis. Earlier the Speaker of the Parliament Isa Kamberov made him a request for assistance in the stabilization of the situation.

Aliyev on 'Pressure' To Become Prime Minister

NC0906153093 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 9 Jun 93 p 24

[Yusuf Senocak report: "Aliyev: I Am Under Pressure"]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Supreme Assembly, has said that he is under intense pressure to agree to become Azerbaijan's new prime minister. Aliyev assessed the latest incidents in Azerbaijan to a HURRIYET correspondent, who called him from Erzurum. He said: "Bloodshed has occurred in Gyandzha. Fratricide took place. Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov and Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijani National Assembly, are responsible for the incidents."

Assembly Opens; Aliyev Expected To Speak

LD0906141993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Excerpts] A meeting of the Azerbaijan National Assembly opened in Baku today. [passage omitted]

According to reports from Baku, leaflets are being circulated there calling for civil disobedience. An opposition rally is continuing in Sumgait. Troops subordinate to Guseynov have taken control of the rayon centers of Geranboy, Khanlar, and Yevlakh and also an air defense missile battery in Mingechaur. Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, arrived in Baku today. His arrival is connected with the recent events in the republic, where the situation has worsened as a result of the Gyandzha tragedy.

It has emerged that the leader of Nakhichevan will take part in consultations with the leadership of Azerbaijan on searching for ways out of the crisis. He is expected to speak at the National Assembly sitting and to meet with Azeerbaijan's President Elchibey.

Elchibey Urges People To Avoid 'Civil War'

LD0806235893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2300 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] In his television address to the people, Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey called on the population to show prudence and not to permit the unleashing of a civil war. Meanwhile the political and military situation remains tense in Gyandzha, the second most important town in Azerbaijan after the capital. Communications with it have been cut off.

According to information reaching us, the town is under the control of General Surat Guseynov's armed group which is opposed to the president. It defeated government troops and took them prisoner. According to certain data, tens of people, including among the civilian inhabitants, died in the course of the clash.

General Guseynov and his supporters have demanded the resignation of the government and the convening of an extraordinary session of parliament and also the removal from power of the republic's president who is being blamed for Azerbaijan's military defeat in combat operations with Armenia and for the economic crisis.

Popular Front 'Split' Over Events

LD0906123793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1150 GMT 9 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 9 TASS—The ruling Popular Front of Azerbaijan radically split in its assessment of the bloodshed in the western city of Gyandzha, while communists plan to use the moment and reshuffle the parliament leadership and the government.

The split manifested itself at the Tuesday session of the republican parliament where supporters of the Popular Front occupied completely contradicting positions towards the gyandzha events which claimed the lives of 69 people and left over 150 wounded.

President Abulfaz Elchibey who created the front and his entourage came under bitter criticism and were accused of usurping power and using state bodies in selfish interests.

Observers note that a year after the victory in presidential elections elchibey is experiencing the most difficult moment in his political career.

In the meantime, former communists intend to convene an extraordinary session of the parliament. Local observers say that in case they succeed a major reshuffling of the parliament leadership and government can be expected pretty soon.

Parliament Chairman of Azerbaijan Isa Kamberov came under bitter attacks of most of parliamentarians who accused him of involvement in the Gyandzha clashes between armed militants of Suret Guseinov and the government troops who came to disarm the militants.

The parliament is resuming its work on Wednesday. Two rallies are being held before the parliamentary building. The popular front supporters demand to punish "Gyandzha criminals" referring to the militants, while the party of national independence demands to give "a political assessment of the Gyandzha events and punish state officials responsible for it."

Nakhichevan Deputies Condemn 'Fratricide'

NC0806122693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 7 Jun 93

["Text" of the statement issued by the Nakhichevan People's Deputies on the incidents in Gyandzha; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen, an armed group that previously served in the Azerbaijan Armed Forces but now aims at reinstating Soviet imperialism generated fratricide in Gyandzha on 4 June with the help of its supporters. The incident has created aversion and anger in Nakhichevan, as has been the case in the other parts of Azerbaijan. We regard this situation as a treacherous blow to our republic, which is taking steps toward independence.

Gyandzha has become renowned in Azerbaijani history through its well-known traditions. Gyandzha was the cradle of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, which heroically resisted the occupationist Russian Army early in the 19th century. The confusion in that city will be assessed as a violent blow to Gyandzha's history. We are convinced, however, that the valuable sons of historic Gyandzha and [words indistinct] will teach a deserving lesson to the pro- imperialist forces and safeguard our independent state.

The criminal elements have generated fratricide when part of Azerbaijan's territory is under enemy occupation and when the progressive countries of the world have focused more attention on Azerbaijan. That being the case, we regard this situation as aggressor Armenia's [words indistinct]. It is not the first time that certain forces have tried to put Azerbaijan under the imperialist yoke.

Considering this grave situation, the Nakhichevan people's deputies wish to express the will of their electorate by urging the people to closely rally around the president they have elected in order to safeguard the Azerbaijani administration. Furthermore, we wish to call on the president to take strong and resolute measures against those who [words indistinct], made profits totalling millions of rubles by robbing the people, [words indistinct], opposed our state administration, and committed treachery against the people.

Meanwhile, we convey our condolences to the families of our brothers and sisters who have been killed in the fratricide and inform them that we share their grief.

[Signed] Nakhichevan People's Deputies

Karabakh Commander Not To Exploit Situation

LD0806141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1331 GMT 8 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Nagorno-Karabakh does not intend to exploit the political crisis in Azerbaijan by escalating its combat actions at the front, said Samvel Babayan, commander of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's self-defense army, speaking to an ITAR-TASS correspondent today over the telephone. He said that the officers and men of the Karabakh army are obeying orders not to open fire. However, Stepanakert is concerned that at a time of instability and political and military disagreement in Azerbaijan itself "any guarantees to Karabakh from the Azerbaijani leadership may prove illusory." The Nagorno-Karabakh authorities do not intend to withdraw their detachments from Kelbadzharskiy rayon of Azerbaijan.

According to the headquarters of the self-defense force, the situation on the frontline between the opposing sides is calm.

'Official' Baku on Events in Gyandzha

LD0806221093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] According to reports from information agencies, forces in opposition to President of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey, have taken full control of the town of Gyandzha. Seyfaliy Akhundov will acquaint you with the point of view of official Baku:

[Begin Akhundov recording] Rebel forces headed by Surat Guseynov, the president of the concern (Azer-6), and Rahim Gaziyev, the dismissed defense minister of Azerbaijan, are controlling not just the town of Gyandzha, but also the republic's rayons of Evlakhskiy, Akstafinskiy, and Lenkoranskiy.

The rebels have captured a government delegation that had come for talks in Gyandzha. One member of the delegation—Ikhtiar Shirinov, the procurator of the Republic of Azerbaijan— issued an instruction on instituting proceedings against Abulfaz Elchibey. However, it is impossible to establish whether this instruction was signed by Shirinov himself, and if so, whether he was tortured. The deputy minister of national security is also in the hands of the rebels.

Active members of the People's Front of Azerbaijan are being terrorized in rayons under the rebels control.

It is also necessary to note the fact that one of the rebel leaders—the former Defense Minister Rahim Gaziyev—

was in Moscow for about a week, where he had private meetings with Russian Defense Minister [Pavel] Grachev and other officials. [end recording]

We did not succeed in obtaining confirmation of this fact at the Russian Defense Ministry, but we hope to acquaint you with the point of view of the country's military department on the events in Azerbaijan on Tuesday.

Events of Gyandzha 'Mutiny' Detailed

PM0906133993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jun 93 pp 1, 3

[Vladimir Petrov report under "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Mutiny at Front Line: Situation in Gyandzha Under Control of Supporters of Colonel Surat Guseynov"]

[Text] The events of recent days in Gyandzha—the Azerbaijani city north of Nagorno-Karabakh—constitute news of prime importance for the republic. The information coming out of Gyandzha and Baku is contradictory, and so there exist several versions of what happened. But the most important thing is known precisely: On 4 June subunits of the national army and republic security forces clashed with armed formations of former army corps commander Colonel Surat Guseynov. Baku radio broadcast that the number of people killed or wounded during the clashes came to 200. Both sides used tanks and artillery, and the city has sustained damage.

A report was received 5 June that Guseynov's gunmen had taken hostage General Prosecutor Ikhtiyar Shirinov, Deputy National Security Minister Sulkhaddin Akperov, and Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Gabil Mamedov, who had gone to Gyandzha, according to official information, to lead the operation "to disarm the illegal formations." So, by all appearances, the government forces have failed to take the sitution in the city under their control. This is also shown by another fact: The Baku leadership has decided after all to enter into talks with Guseynov's supporters, while President Abulfaz Elchibey has even created an authoritative state commission for this. Clearly, he no longer had a choice, as the strong-arm methods of resolving the conflict have backfired. By edict of the president 8 June was a day of mourning in Azerbaijan in connection with the events in Gyandzha.

Gyandzha is the second largest city in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan subunits sent to the Karabakh front were formed in Gyandzha on the basis of the 23d Russian Motorized Rifle Division, which was disbanded last year. Incidentally, Colonel Guseynov was removed from his post in February after defeats in north Karabakh. He himself claims that the retreat of Azerbaijani subunits took place because "reinforcements were not dispatched" in time.

There are now many refugees in Gyandzha from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon (5,000-6,000, according to some some estimates), which they left after the defeat of the Azerbaijani Army in April. The refugees openly blame Elchibey for the military defeats on the Karabakh front. It is no wonder that it was the refugees who were the first to support Guseynov's antigovernment actions. While at a news conference the colonel himself described as "criminal" the actions of the authorities who attempted to disarm his grouping. He demanded, as a people's deputy of Azerbaijan, the calling of an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet to find a way out of the deadlocked situation in which the republic finds itself.

A large rally was also held there whose participants demanded the creation of an independent investigative commission to identify those responsible for the fratricidal conflict. The situation in Gyandzha is now calm on the whole.

As an ITAR-TASS correspondent has reported from Baku, most inhabitants of the western region support the demands of Guseynov as people's deputy of Azerbaijan that an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet be called to ascertain the causes of what happened in Gyandzha and that the organizers of the action—the main ones being parliamentary speaker Isa Gambarov and Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov, according to Surat Guseynov—be punished.

An enlarged emergency session of the Azerbaijani Government with the participation of the president and the speaker of parliament was held close to midnight on 7 June. The head of the cabinet, Panakh Guseynov, announced his intention to resign.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Receives U.S. Envoy Talbott

LD0806201593 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1757 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, today met a personal envoy of the U.S. President—a special ambassador, the head of the department on CIS affairs—Mr. Talbott, who has arrived in Georgia on a special mission.

Sigua Approves Cooperation With Peace Corps

LD0806204593 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1757 GMT 8 Jun 93

[Text] Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua has issued an instruction approving the proposition made by the Georgian Foreign Ministry on cooperating with the Peace Corps, a U.S. civil organization, considering it necessary to invite to the republic experts of this organization on economy, industry, finance, banking, management, international and criminal law, education, health care, computers, communication, agriculture, power engineering, and other spheres.

Kozyrev, Delegation Arrive in Tbilisi, Begin Talks

LD0906101593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0917 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Jun—"During our stay in Georgia—in Tbilisi, Sukhumi, and Gudauta—we will hold an exclusively concrete and frank conversation. Russia can no longer permit people to die and towns to be destroyed. We regard the breakdown of the truce as inadmissible," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stated upon arriving at Tbilisi airport today.

The Russian delegation has arrived in Georgia on a working visit to acquaint itself with the situation on the spot and to discuss the problems of an Abkhazian settlement with the leaders of Georgia and Abkhazia.

The Russian foreign minister and his Georgian colleague Aleksandr Chikvaydze began conversations immediately after the arrival. Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov met with Irakli Batiashvili, head of the information and intelligence service, and Panteleymon Georgadze, head of the border troops. Boris Gromov, first deputy defense minister of Russia, met with Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Kapkapashvili.

Shevardnadze Meets With Delegation

LD0906104393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0940 GMT 9 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Georgiy Shemelev and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Jun—Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze received Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who has arrived in Georgia on a working visit, at his residence today. Eduard Shevardnadze and Andrey Kozyrev held a tete-a-tete. The full Russian and Georgian delegations then held a meeting in which Eduard Shevardnadze took part.

The Russian delegation, which also includes Security Minister Viktor Barannikov and First Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov, is flying to Gudauta later for a meeting with Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia.

Dniester 'Mercenaries' Arrive in Gudauta, Tkvarcheli

LD0606154493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Excerpt] We have learned from reliable sources that four planes, one IL-76 and three AN-24, carrying up to 1,000 mercenaries from the Dniester region on board, landed at Bombora Airport in Gudauta on 2 June.

This is happening despite the fact that Bombora Airport, where an operational unit of the Russian Army is stationed, has been declared a neutral zone. Some mercenaries were wearing Russian OMON [special purpose militia detachment] uniforms, while others were in civilian clothes.

This is confirmed by eyewitness reports from Tkvarcheli, which speak of large numbers of mercenaries from the Dniester region arriving there as well, again in uniforms bearing OMON markings. They pitched a tent in the center of the city and hoisted flags of the Dniester Republic and the Abkhazian Popular Front. [passage omitted]

Communique Cements 'Friendly' Ties With Iran

AU0906112693 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 3 Jun 93 p 1

["Joint communique of the Georgian foreign affairs minister and the foreign affairs minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran" released in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] At the official invitation of the Republic of Georgia Government, a high-ranking government delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran under the leadership of His Excellency Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] 'Ali Akbar Velayati was in Georgia on 27-28 May 1993, correspondingly on 6-7 Khordads 1372 Hijrit.

During the visit, Batoni 'Ali Akbar Velayati and those persons accompanying him met with Batoni Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state-chairman of Parliament, Batoni Tengiz Sigua, Republic of Georgia prime minister, and Batoni Aleksandr Chikvaidze, Republic of Georgia minister of foreign affairs.

During the course of the negotiations, held in an atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill, the sides confirmed their readiness to cooperate within the framework of the UN and other international organizations in order to establish peace in the world and in the region.

Following an exchange of views, the sides expressed their anxiety over recent processes taking place in the region that are creating a danger to international peace. The Republic of Georgia and the Islamic Republic of Iran will unite their efforts to resolve existing conflicts, including that in [Nagorno-] Karabakh, through dialogue and by political methods. The sides emphasized the importance of ties between their countries in preserving the territorial integrity of the countries in the region, halting attempts to change existing borders, establishing peace and security, and achieving positive advances. The Georgian side welcomed the peaceful actions taken by Iran in this direction.

The sides, taking into account the global significance of cooperation between their countries, in particular in the matter of creating a Eurasian transit "corridor," confirm the necessity of expanding cooperation between Iran,

Georgia, and other countries in the region and emphasize its importance for the establishment of stability in the region. On the basis of existing agreements, the sides will comprehensively expand mutually advantageous economic relations. It was pointed out that it would be beneficial to hold bilateral consultations and meetings in order to implement existing agreements in a timely fashion.

In conclusion, the sides emphasized that the joint communique of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Republic of Georgia and the Islamic Republic of Iran once more confirms that a solid base is being established for friendly relations between their two countries.

Shevardnadze Adviser on Abkhazian Situation

PM0806114393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jun 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Besik Urigashvili: "Abkhazia: Escalation of Hostilities"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The Georgian military and political leadership believes that the Abkhazian side has used the truce reached after the Moscow meeting between E. Shevardnadze and B. Yeltsin to build up its military might and prepare a new large-scale assault on the city of Sukhumi.

As Colonel Vladimir Chikovani, E. Shevardnadze's chief military adviser, noted in an interview with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, the resumption of hostilities should be expected in the next few days. "The Abkhazians are using the truce to strengthen their fortifications on Gumista river and in the region of the city of Tkvarcheli. They are also buying new consignments of arms and ammunition. This trait in the Abkhazian leaders' behavior is well known—the respite generated by the peace talks in Moscow 3 September last year and in Sukhumi in early April this year were used by the Abkhazian command to prepare military offensives."

V. Chikovani said that over the 10 days of the truce the Abkhazian side had violated the cease-fire agreement on about 30 occasions. And in recent cases—on the night of 31 May to 1 June and of 1 June to 2 June—about 40 Georgian fighters were killed and wounded as a result of fighting in Ochamchirskiy Rayon. The shooting in recent days has also been along the front line on the river Gumista. Grenade throwers, automatic weapons, and mortars are being used.

V. Chikovani asserts that in the middle of May the abkhazian side bought in Russia a large quantity of ammunition and also "Strela" and "Igla" surface to air guided missiles. According to Georgian intelligence agents' reports on 29 and 30 May about 500 armed mercenaries—cossacks—were transferred from Krasnodar Kray to territory controlled by the Abkhazian forces. In all, according to Georgian information, the Abkhazians have about 6,000 are under arms. Two groupings, each of approximately 1,000 men—at military bases in Gagry and Pitsunda—are carrying out intensive combat preparation. They include many Turkish citizens, ethnic Abkhazians who have come here with their own weapons. The Abkhazians also have at their disposal 12 "Grad" launchers and 23 self-propelled guns which they received in mid-April after the Sochi peace talks. In the next few days the Abkhazians expect reinforcement from the Confederation of mountain peoples. They are counting on approximately 1,000 armed gunmen from the North Caucasus.

Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers, has stated that all these figures and also the regular violations of the cease-fire agreement threaten to disrupt the planned action to render humanitarian aid to the cities of Sukhumi and Tkvarcheli, which was to take place now under UN auspices.

Recent events confirm us yet again in the thought that the Moscow agreements on a cease-fire and political solution to the Abkhazian conflict will scarcely work at this stage. The disruption of the peace accords has enabled Georgian radicals to make a statement about the latest political blunder by Shevardnadze, who is gambling on Russia in settling the conflict. In addition at a meeting with parliamentary deputies the Georgian political leaders stated that this conflict could be resolved only by military means and urged the parliamentarians to put pressure on the head of state. Obviously these feelings resulted in the sensational speech by a Georgian political opposition leader in parliament, Irakliy Tsereteli, who stated that he categorically demands Shevardnadze's resignation. Tsereteli said that he has sold out Georgia and lost the war in Abkhazia and the Tskhinval region.

For his part Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba in a speech on Gudauta radio said that the Abkhazian side did not make any cease-fire commitments after the Moscow meeting between Yeltsin and Shevardnadze and that the ending of hostilities on the Abkhazians' side was merely a goodwill gesture with regard to Russia. The Abkhazian side, Ardzinba said, will resume hostilities when it deems it necessary.